De Controversiis
On the Roman Pontiff

Vol. I: Books 1 & 2

St. Robert Bellarmine, S.J.

Translated from the Latin
by Ryan Grant

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De Romano Pontifice

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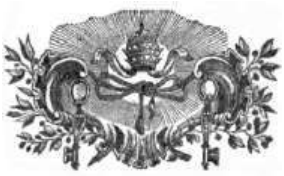

On the Roman Pontiff

By St. Robert Bellarmine
Doctor of the Church

De Controversiis Volume Ia
Containing Books I-II
Translated from the original Latin
of the 1588 Ingolstadt Edition
by

Ryan Grant
Translator of *A Small Catechism for Catholics*, *On the Marks of the Church*,
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Translator's Preface

THE importance of the book you now hold before you cannot be overestimated. The failure of the late Medieval Papacy to truly govern the Church had produced a number of errors, from those who could not distinguish between the man and the office. It became a constant in Renaissance Humanism to doubt many aspects of the Papal office. Sadly, it can be said with Philip Hughes, a great Catholic historian of the Reformation, that the chief aim of the Popes was to make money. This is no less true in the person of Pope Julius II, who named himself not after the early Pope and martyr by the same name, but rather after Julius Caesar, with a grand plan to restore the Church. Erasmus, who held many doubts concerning the foundation of the Papacy, wrote a poem depicting Pope Julius II before St. Peter, where he is about to be excluded from heaven by the Prince of the Apostles. There he has Julius boast before the gates of St. Peter: "Look at my palaces, how resplendent they are, and the Papal armies." It is impossible to minimize the scale of abuses rampant in the Church in the early 16th century.

Yet the Protestant reformers were not able to distinguish between the office and the man, and thus developed a number of arguments, which in those days seemed rather compelling, that the Church should have no Pope, that Christ left no such office, that Peter even did not establish a See at Rome, and rather the Pope is the antichrist, meant to corrupt and destroy the Church.

At Trent, where the Church attempted to answer the many attacks of the early Protestants on Catholic teaching, one thing was notably absent, any particular refutation of their points on the Papacy. This glaring omission in Trent, however, was not due to an inability to answer the arguments, but due to political pressure. Tied up with the question of the Papacy was also the pressing need of "reform of the head," which many Popes feared would touch their tender incomes, and that of the Curia. Pope Paul III forbade his legates from permitting any discussion of "reform of the head" in the first period of Trent's sitting; just the same, the Theologians and bishops who began trickling into Trent had the sense not to raise the issue. That reform would take saints, such as the great St. Charles Borromeo, St. Philip Neri,

and above all St. Pius V, whose virtues later Popes could not ignore, and whose shining example bore down on more worldly Popes, preventing any return to business as usual.

For all that, little had been done at the magisterial level to clearly answer the questions of the time on the theological basis of the Papacy. This task was left instead, to the Theologians, as most things were before ever reaching the level of Papal teaching. Today there are many who scoff at this, and relegate the teaching of the theologians, even in common, as mere opinions of no value. Yet were that true, the Church would never license works of Theology. In fact, the great Jesuit theologian, Cardinal Franzelin, wrote in his work *De Divina Traditione*, the following about the work of Theologians:

> "Bishops, both as individuals and in Councils to declare and define doctrine, employ the Academies and the teachers of the schools in counsel so that the common doctrine of the schools would be like a type of preparation of an authentic definition of Popes and Councils . . . Although the schools and theologians of the schools are not an organ constituted by Christ for the conservation of revealed doctrine under the assistance of the Spirit of truth, nevertheless, from the unanimous and constant opinion of those in the affairs of faith, when they teach thus it is to be believed not merely as something which is true, but by Catholic faith, we are led in recognition of Catholic understanding and of doctrine, which the very apostolic succession hands down and conserves as custodians and authentic interpreters of revelation." [1]

Among the Theologians then, Bellarmine was perhaps the most prolific and no one is more quoted in the documents of Vatican I. There were, of course, other works in the scholastics, and in Bellarmine's time treatises such as that of Cajetan which were carried out along more scholastic lines, but as yet nothing systematic that would address all the Protestant arguments and defend the Church's traditional teaching until this work.

Having become a distinguished scholar at Louvain, Bellarmine was recalled to Rome and placed in the Roman College (the future Gregorian) to take up the chair of Controversial Theology. There it was seen that he not only had a perfect familiarity with the works of major Protestants, but he also had a seemingly photographic memory of the teachings of the Fathers. This also fit the mood of Theology in Rome, fired up by Cardinal Baronius' work of the Annals, of taking up the work of the early reform movements of the 16th century in the works of great figures like Ximenez and St. John Fisher, and looking to the ancient Church to recover something of the spirit of the early Christians, as well as to show the connection of the present Church with antiquity. Bellarmine does this with gusto, positing the

objections of the Protestants, then refuting them systematically by an appeal to the teachings of the Fathers, which clearly vindicate the Catholic side.

Bellarmine's treatise on the Papacy then, represents the first systematic attempt to address the questions over that office in an apologetic, rather than scholastic manner. He not only refutes Protestant teaching, but lays down the theological foundations which would make their way into the definitions of the First Vatican Council. Bossuet, the great French Bishop of the 17th century, notes that in his time, Bellarmine still reigned supreme, even among French Theologians. References to Bellarmine fill the pages of later Theological treatises of the great Theologians.

Yet today, some would think a treatise like this redundant, or, a waste of time, since Vatican I solemnly declared the Catholic Doctrine on the Papacy. Far from a mere antiquarian interest, however, this work is still valuable for us today. For, in spite of the recent ecumenical fervor, many Protestants still teach that Rome is the antichrist, and oppose any dialogue with Catholics. The Eastern Orthodox, in spite of gifts of Churches and many favorable discussions with Theologians in the later 20th century, remain steadfastly against Catholic teaching and above all, the institution of the Papacy. A browsing of the Wikipedia page on Papal Primacy, lists a number of arguments against the doctrine which Bellarmine refuted over 400 years ago! In Bellarmine's time, the Papacy was above all, *the* issue, as is clear in a debate held in London between Anglican Archbishop William Laud and an imprisoned English Jesuit named Fisher. Laud spent many hours trying to find errors in Bellarmine's arguments, and in the debate, he declared: "Indeed could I swallow Bellarmine's opinion that the Pope's judgment is infallible, I would then submit without any more ado. But that will never go down with me, unless I live till I dote, which I hope to God I shall not." 2 One of the members of his Church 300 years hence, C.S. Lewis shared the same sentiment in a letter to an Italian priest, which was part of a dialogue through correspondence published today as *The Latin Letters of C.S. Lewis*. There, Lewis notes: "Where you write that the Pope is "the point of meeting" you almost commit (if your people will forgive my saying so) what logicians call a *petitio principii* (begging the question). For we disagree about nothing more than the authority of th Pope: on which disagreement almost all the others depend." 3

Therefore, by the labor made to bring this work into good readable English, I hope that it will serve as a benefit to the Church. Some

explanation as to the text is in order.

Those familiar with my recently published translation of *On the Marks of the Church*, will note here the same format and style. Footnoting did not exist in Bellarmine's day, and thus part of the labor is putting the voluminous references from the text into footnotes, and formatting them as best I can into modern style. Many works do not have modern editions, and thus it is easier simply to give them as they are. In general, I have vernacularized the names of those cited, particularly the Reformers, while giving the Latin titles of their works. Often enough, works meant for publication in the vernacular were also published in Latin so as to reach an international audience, and the quotations from them are translated from the Latin, not taken from modern vernacular editions. In like manner, all translations of the Scriptures, the Fathers, or others are my own.

Moreover, I have also tried as much as possible to stay true to the Latin, save for use of the passive voice which is used just as much as (and sometimes more than) the active voice, whereas, in English it is looked down upon and rarely used. So when possible I have re-written the construction of the sentences from passive to active, although this has not always been possible.

Where necessary I have also added footnotes explaining some aspect of grammar or nuances lost in English, and if necessary a Theological note of explanation, although I have kept these to a minimum, as of the two of us Bellarmine is clearly the brighter, and there is little I could possibly add to this work.

Another word must be had on the term "canon". You will see this term used frequently by Bellarmine and his opponents. In the 16th century, a canon had two basic meanings, matters dealing with faith, and matters dealing with Church law. In regard to the latter, Canon law was a complicated discipline, as it required a deep knowledge of the history of all canons, and which ones were in force or not, or overridden by others in this or that case. A compendium into a book containing all applicable law would not be seen until 1917, with the culmination of the great work of Pope St. Pius X and Pope Benedict XV in producing the Code of Canon Law. Now in the early Church, "canon" usually meant a summation of faith, and so canons were intended to define what the faithful would believe. After Constantine and the end of formal persecution, the practice developed of using a Canon to refer to discipline rather than a statement of faith, though

they often involved matters of faith or were held to be interpreters of divine law, hence, what must be believed. This is key in seeing why Bellarmine or his opponents site various Canons from Councils and Popes, and seem at times to get bogged down in them. I have done my best to bring clarity to something that is not as well understood today as it was then, so that one will not get lost in the seemingly endless ocean of this canon says this, therefore, etc. The import is on what this or that canon says about the faith.

At times, this is not an easy text, and the reader may sometimes feel he has become mired in endless back and forth, but I assure you it is worth the effort thus expended for the beauty and truth of the Catholic faith.

Lastly, this work would not be possible without the gracious assistance of my wife, who in a manner like Hercules has needed to hoist our little world upon her shoulders while Atlas has been away (although, whether Atlas returns with the golden apples or without remains to be seen!). Also, I would like to thank those who assisted in the editing for their perseverance through the rough grammar of my first draft. I would also like to thank Dr. Robert Sungenis for his gracious assistance with the Hebrew that Bellarmine quotes, as I have little faculty in that language. At length, I would like to thank the gracious benefactors of the St. Robert Bellarmine translation project, conducted via the crowd-funding website *go fund me*. If you wish to contribute to that work, you can do so by going to the following website: http://www.gofundme.com/RobertBellarmine

May this work benefit the Holy Church, which once again has need of this great saint and teacher.

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Dedicatio

Omnibus benefactoribus laboris S. Roberti Bellarmini votum esse, et praesertim Joanni Schmieding et Josepho Gamez, praesidio ejus remoto, hic liber fieri non posset.

Dedicated to all the benefactors of the
St. Robert Bellarmine project, and most especially John Schmieding and Joseph Gamez, without whose assistance this work would not be possible.

Preface to the Books on the Supreme Pontiff

by
St. Robert Bellarmine, S.J.

Given in the Roman Gymnasium
1577

BEFORE we approach the disputation on the Supreme Pontiff, I believe I must preface a few words. In the first place, on the utility and magnitude of the institution which is in dispute: thereupon, concerning those who attack the Roman Primacy in books, or even on the other side, those who fight in his defense; they have been zealous from the beginning of the Church even to our times, and at length, on the plan and order in which we should treat and also explicate the present Controversy, which is necessarily going to be long.

For indeed, the magnitude of the question on the Pope, and also its utility are chiefly understood from two things: on the magnitude of the matter on which it is treated, and in like manner is called into doubt, and from the multitude and vigorous opposition of our adversaries. Furthermore, what exactly is treated on, when we treat on the primacy of the Pope? I will say briefly, we are dealing with the chief issue of Christian faith. Moreover, it is asked, should the Church exist any longer, or should it be dissolved and destroyed? For, what is it to ask, whether one ought to remove the foundation from the building, the shepherd from the flock, the general from the army, the sun from the stars, the head from the body, except to ask whether one should destroy the building, disperse the flock, empty out the army, darken the stars or kill the body?

Next our adversaries, that is, the heretics, since they generally disagree with themselves on doctrine no less than with us, nevertheless all agree on this, that with supreme opposition of their spirit they should oppose the See of the Roman Pontiff with their whole strength. There have never been any enemies of Christ and also his Church, who did not wage war together with this seat. It seems to me that the Prophet Isaiah foresaw and predicted these two things long ago, even in regard to the magnitude and the usefulness of the matter, when he said: “Behold, I place in the foundations of Zion, a stone, a stone that is proved, the corner stone, precious, a foundation in the foundation.” [4] Secondly, he foresaw the attack and opposition of the

heretics, when he says of this stone: “It is *the Stone of offense, and the rock of scandal.*” 5 Although the latter citation from Isaiah is not contained in the same place as the former, (the latter are Chapter 8, the former contained in 28), nevertheless, the Apostle Paul in Chapter 9 to the Romans, and the Apostle Peter in his first epistle, Chapter 2, join all these words of the prophet together, so that no one can be in doubt whether they refer to the same end in the same manner: and although we are not ignorant that these words particularly fit Christ, nevertheless we reckon the same words are not unsuited to the vicar of Christ.

Therefore, what are the foundations of Zion? The Apostle John explains this in the Apocalypse; describing indeed all the parts of this same holy city, and also its decor, he says among the other things: “And the wall of the city, having twelve foundations, and in them the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.” 6 The foundations of Zion, therefore, are the Apostles counted among them, and a certain stone excels the rest: “Behold,” he says, “I place a stone in the foundations of Zion.” What this stone may be, no one is ignorant who reads the Gospel. Since, in point of fact, one of the twelve apostles was named Simon, and his name was changed by the Lord, Who willed, that he should be called Peter in place of Simon, I say a rock: accordingly in the Aramaic language, which our Lord most certainly used, this is none other than *Cephas*, that is *Petra*, or to be better accommodated to us Latins, *Petrus*, or you are *rock, and on this rock I will build my Church.* Behold the stone in the foundation of Zion. But of what sort do you reckon this stone? *The stone*, he says, *proved*, *the corner, precious, established in the foundation.* The proven stone: accordingly this rock is tested by every kind of proof, for all the gates of hell attack her.

And, while I will omit the persecutions of the Jews and also of the Heathen, which were common both to this seat and with the rest of the Church; it must be noted in the first place, that all the heretics make war upon this seat, not just once, nor twice, but repeatedly and always with renewed armies. Thereupon the rivalry and pride of the Greeks has not yet ceased to wage war on this seat, whose religion with its dignity they have lost since being oppressed by the Turkish emperor. Then the most powerful Christian emperors, and what is more, under the name of religion and piety, have tried to overturn and overthrow this seat, from whence they also obtained the scepter of the Roman Empire.

Moreover, you are not ignorant of the tragedies in the Church which Henry IV, Henry V, Otho IV, and above all, Frederick II and several others stirred up at different times. And, as if this were a little matter, Satan has stirred up the Roman People to rise up against Popes. The very serious epistle of Blessed Bernard to the senate and the roman people is still extant, in which he tried to calm their sedition against Pope Eugene which was counseled by the devil. However, very turbulent and pernicious seditions of

this sort whose aims were to destroy the Roman Pontiff have endured not for days, nor months, but years, nay more even centuries.

At the present very serious schisms have come about, and many of them in themselves over the Roman Pontiffs, to whom they could not yield in any way and at length labored even to destroy the See of Peter, as if it were not the strongest and most proven rock, established by God as the foundation of Zion, who himself said: "*Even the gates of hell will not prevail against it.*" Moreover, in the event that we might reckon that this seat has stood for so long on account of the incorrupt life and the untouched morals of the supreme pontiffs, we find that God permitted that certain popes who could scarcely be called good should at some time hold and reign in this seat. Rightly, such were Stephan VI, Leo V, Christopher I, Sergius III, John XII, and not a few others, if the things that we read about their lives and deeds in the writings of the historians of those times are true.

Therefore, such accounts that the heretics labor to collect on the vices of certain pontiffs ultimately comes to nothing. Truly, we recognize and affirm, that their vices were not few: rather the glory of this seat was merely distant, obscured or diminished in their vices, in order that it could be more forcefully increased and magnified by the same. Here, we understand that the Roman Pontificate has existed for so long not by human counsel, prudence, or strength, but because this rock was so fortified by the Lord, divinely founded, surrounded by guards of angels, by a unique providence of God, and fortified by his protection, that the gates of hell should not be able to prevail against it by any means, whether by "those gates" is meant the persecution of tyrants, or the madness of heretics, the fury of schismatics, or sins and outrages. The proven stone, therefore, God placed in the foundation of Zion: not only proven, but even the corner stone, a stone which connects two walls. This seems to me to prove the distinction that was placed between the pontiff of Christians and of the Jews. The latter was indeed a foundation stone, but not a corner stone: nor indeed did it hold up two walls, but merely one. Rather, our stone is the corner stone; for both Jews and Gentiles are joined together as though two walls, and also making one Christian Church are contained from this one corner stone.

Isaiah adds, "*even Precious*." In one word, a treasure is meant, such that is derived most copiously in every Church from the See of Peter and in the greatest abundance. Indeed, from what place were the missionaries sent to Germany, France, England and other far away lands, that they might preach the gospel, except from this seat? Where did bishops, being cast out from their sees throughout the whole world, seek refuge, as the famous Athanasius, and Peter of Alexandria, Paul, and Chrysostom of Constantinople; where did they discover help and refuge, except in this See? From where do we have the explication of dogmas, the rites of the sacraments, the communication of indulgences, except from this See?

Wherefore, that I should pass over the rest, which would take a very long time to enumerate, where is the consensus in doctrine, the bond of peace, the unity of Faith, where is the very salvation and life of religion, unless it is from this see? Otherwise, why is it that the heretics of our time, when they have sufficiently obtained many and even great lands, such as England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Poland, Bohemia and not a small part of Hungary, have not yet been able to compel one general Council that they all might agree on one point of doctrine? Why even the Greeks, since the year 800, in which they cut themselves off from the See of Peter and the Roman Church, for almost 800 years have not once celebrated a Council to argue mutually among themselves for agreement and peace? When we, on the other hand, have had around ten general Councils, and at that very frequently, the last of which was in this time, in which the Lutherans bitterly contended among themselves, and publicly despaired of the unity and the supreme agreement of the celebrated fathers. What can be the reason for such a difference, except that all of them lack a leader and ruler, who alone can and ought to confirm all the brethren in Faith, and retain the whole Church in unity?

At length the prophet adds: “It has been founded in the foundation.” What, indeed, is founded in the foundation, except a foundation after the principle foundation, that is, a secondary foundation, not the first? Accordingly, the first and particular foundation of the Church we know to be Christ, about which the Apostle said: “No man can place another foundation, apart from that which has been placed, which is Christ Jesus.” But after Christ, the foundation is Peter, and unless it is through Peter, one does not reach unto Christ. Although the heretics talk about Christ, and boast that they follow his word and doctrine, nevertheless it is unavoidable that, as Leo the great says, one is exiled from the divine mystery who will have dared to recede from solidity of Peter.

The See of Peter, therefore, is the proven stone, the corner stone, the precious stone, founded in the foundation, and it is indeed so for us: but on the other hand, to our adversaries, the heretics, it is nothing other than the stone of offense, and the stone of shame. Although they ought to build themselves upon it into a holy temple in the Lord, instead these, like truly blind and insane men, dash themselves against it. It goes against human wisdom, against their pride, for those who in their own eyes are experienced, that one mortal, in whom there is no erudition, nor goodness, nor any other reason they should judge themselves inferior to him, should be called the foundation of the Church, above which, a building has been placed, at the same time vast, sublime, and immense. For this reason it displeases them, because they do not understand, what may be not only easy for God, but even glorious to choose from the weak, that he might confound

the strong. Nor do they seem to have noticed that this is God's way, that through Faith and humility he leads to wisdom and glory.

Thus it is certain, without a doubt, that through the foolishness of preaching a Crucified Man, believers are saved: thus he chose fishermen, that he might convert emperors; thus in abject and common things, water, oil, bread and the species of wine, he bound the strength of the sacraments, and the endless treasures of heavenly gifts: that while we are subjected to abject things by humility and faith, we are carried to the lot of the sons of God, and to the consort of the very divine nature. Nevertheless, the heretics close their eyes to all these things, and do not cease to fury and rage against the salutary rock, and against the counsel of God, that it should be to them the stone of offense and the rock of scandal. Indeed the Donatists named this seat the chair of pestilence: Berengarius called the pontiff of this seat the *pompificem* and *pulpificem*; 7 the Waldenses 'the whore clothed in purple'; Wycliff called it the synagogue of Satan; the Lutherans, Calvinists and Anabaptists contend it is the seat of Antichrist. And although they might disagree with us on many other matters, nevertheless, from this cause alone, have they wished to impose upon us a name. They call us nothing other than Papists, as if only, or particularly, they reckon we err in defending the supreme pontiff. And they do not reckon themselves to be able to give someone any greater insult, than if they might call him a Pope. On the other hand every place found to be filthy and sordid, and whatsoever is found to be foul and ugly in the nature of things, they begin to call according to some derivation of the term "Pope."

Therefore, this is the spirit of Luther and Calvin and the like against the Pope, that although they indeed write sharply and petulantly on all other matters, when it comes to the Supreme Pontiff, they do so violently, by loading on insults, calumnies, jeers, that he is driven by mad spirits, and is filled with a wicked demon, or rather, that he has lain aside human nature, and clothed himself with a demonic one. Besides, even if they would wish to establish a leader (naturally they refuse), they are weak and useless, but the supreme pontificate is the firmest rock, not them. For while they strike at this seat, that they should try to break it, instead they shall be broken by it: "Who soever will have fallen" the Lord said, "upon this stone, will be broken, upon whom this stone should fall, it will break him." 8 And Pope Leo the Great declared: "Whoever thinks it wise to deny the first place to this seat, truly in no way can he decrease its dignity, but being puffed up with the spirit of his pride, he shall sink himself into hell." 9

As some vast boulder, which stands out in the midst of the sea above the waves and tides is never thrown down nor moved, although again and again the blowing of the winds and the waves of the sea rush upon it with great force, but instead all these dissipated and broke: in like fashion when the See of Peter has been struck so many times already by the Jews, the heathen,

heretics, rebels, and schismatics with incredible fury, nearly all of these were either consumed or conquered, or made prostrate, for over 1500 years she has stood immovable: and always (as St. Augustine said) while heretics howled around, it obtained the summit of authority. Since these things are so, unless I am mistaken, you will see the magnitude of this controversy we have proposed to explain.

I come now to it, which we have placed in the second point. The first ones who attacked the primacy of the Roman Pontiff in earnest appear to have been the Greeks. Truly, already then in the year of our Lord 381, they wished that the bishop of Constantinople, who as yet was not even a patriarch, should be set before the Eastern Patriarchs, and be made second to the Roman Pontiff. This can be seen in the second Ecumenical Council, Can. 5. Thereafter in the year 451, the Greeks, not being content with the matter, tried to make the bishop of Constantinople equal to the Roman Pontiff. For, in the Council of Chalcedon, act. 16, the Greek Fathers defined, although, not without fraud, since the Roman legates were absent, that the bishopric of Constantinople ought to be so close to the Roman See, that still it should have equal privileges. Not content with this, in the times of St. Gregory, and of his predecessor Pelagius II, around the year 600 they began to call the Bishop of Constantinople “Ecumenical”, that is, or the whole world, or universal bishop. The witness of this affair is St. Gregory himself in letters, many of which he wrote on this subject in a short time to John the bishop of Constantinople, to the Emperor Maurice, to the Empress Constance, and to the rest of the patriarchs of the East.

Next, in the year 1054, they openly pronounced that the Bishop of Rome had lost his position on account of the addition of the phrase *Filioque* to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, based on a judgment from the Council of Ephesus which had forbidden it, and further pronounced the Bishop of Constantinople to be the first of all the bishops. 10 There is even a little book extant in Greek written by Nilus, the archbishop of Thessalonika, against the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, which recently Illyricus brought into the light from unknown darkness, and translated into Latin.

On the side of the Latins, the first were the Waldenses, who removed themselves from obedience to the Roman Pontiff. The Waldensians arose in the year 1170, as Reynerius writes, and they flourished for 300 years. Then, in the year 1300, from the witness of Matthew Palmerio in his Chronicle, there existed those who were called the *Fraticelli*, who apart from other errors, held this: that the authority of Peter had long since ceased in the Roman Church, and was transferred to their sect. 11 Not long after, in the time of John de Turrecremata who witnesses it, Marsilius of Padua arose, and John of Janduno, who held that not only are all bishops equal to the Roman Pontiff, but even all priests.

Thereupon, around the Year of Our Lord 1390, arose Jon Wycliff, and John Huss followed him, whose opinions against the Apostolic See can be read in the Council of Constance, sess. 8, and 15.

At length in our century Martin Luther, and so many heretics appeared after him, who tried to undermine the Roman Pontificate with all their strength and every effort of their spirit. And the summation of their doctrine is, the Roman Bishop was at some time shepherd and preacher of the Roman Church, and one from the rest, not one above the rest: but now it is nothing other than Antichrist. 12

For a while now, those who wrote on behalf of the authority of the Supreme Pontiff have been found in all nations; but lest by chance someone might find himself passed over, I will not avail myself to enumerate them all, but merely those whose works I could get my hands on. From Poland we have one, which is like unto many others, obviously that of Cardinal Hosius, in his works *in explicatione Symboli*, ch. 26, and in book 2 *Contra Brentium*, and in his book *de auctoritate Summi Pontificis*.

From France we have two books: Reymond Ruffus in his book *adver. Carol. Molin. Pro sum pontif.* and Robert Arboricensis in *1. Tom. De utriusque glad. potest.*

From Germany we have John of Eck in three books *de prim. S. Petri*; John Faber *in refutat. Lib. Luth. de pontif. potest.* John Cochlaeus *in 4 Philippica*; Gaspar Schatzger *in Controvers.* Conrad Clingium *lib. 3 de loc. comm.*

From Lower Germany six: John Driedo *lib 4, ch. 3, pg. 2, de Scriptura et dogmata Ecclesiae*. Albert Pighius *bk 3, 4, and 5,* Eccles. hier. John of Louvain *de perpet. Cath. Petri protect. Et firmit.* John Latomus in his book *de primatu Petri*; William Lindanus in his book *Panopliae*; John of Burgundy *in compendio Concert. tit. 31*.

From England six: Thomas Waldens in book 2 *doctrinalis Fid.* Art 1 and 3. John of Rochester [St. John Fisher] *in refut arctic* 25. Cardinal Reginald Pole in his book *de sum. Pontif.* and book 1 and 2 *to king Henry VIII.* Aalan Copum *Dialogo* 1. Nicolaus Sanders in his book *de visib. monarch.* Thomas Stapleton in book 6 *Controvers.*

From Spain seven: John de Turrecremata book 2 *de Eccles.* Alphonse de Castro book 12 *contra haer.* Melchior Cano *bk 6 de locis Theologicis*; Peter of Soto *in defens. Suae confess.* Ch. 74 even to the end. Francis Horantius, bk 6, *de locis Cathol.* Francis of Toledo in *lib. contra Anthony Sadeelem*. And Gregory of Valentia who recently even wrote on the same argument in his *Analysi Fid. Cathol.* Par. 7 and 8.

From Italy 8: St. Thomas *in Opusc. cont. Graec.*; Blessed Augustine *Triumphum Anconitanum*, in sum. De potest. Papae; St. Anthony 3. Part. Tit. 22, sum. Theol. Thomas Cajetan de Instit. et auctor. rom. pontif. Thomas

Compeggio in a book of the same title; John Anthony Delphinus bk 1 and 2 *de Ecclesia.*

From Greece one: Gennadius Scholarium *in defensione cap. 5*.

Now, however, for what pertains to the order and disposition of the proposed disputation. It contains two particular parts: one on the institution of the supreme Pontificate, that is the Ecclesiastical Monarchy, the other on the office and power of the Supreme Pontiff. And in the first part six questions are contained.

First: Whether Monarchy might be the best form of government?

Second: Whether the rule of the Church should be through monarchy?

Third: Was St. Peter the first spiritual monarch of the Catholic Church?

Fourth: Whether the same Blessed Peter came [to Rome], and also established the same pontifical see to remain perpetually?

Fifth: Whether the Bishop of Rome succeeds St. Peter, not only in the Roman Episcopate, but even in the primacy of the whole Church? Wherein , with respect to this question, certain other aspects [of the Papacy] are also recalled, which when they are joined together, cannot be separated from it in any respect; such as, hearing the appeals from the whole world; on establishing, confirming, transferring, punishing and even from the duty of removing bishops, and several other attributes of this sort.

Sixth: Whether the same Roman Bishop could at some time have gone from being the vicar of Christ to being Antichrist?

The second part of the Controversy embraces six questions.

First: Should the Roman Pontiff make decisions on controversies of Faith and Morals?

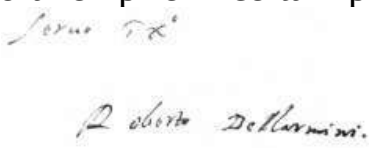
Second: Whether he can err in that judgment?

Thirdly: Can the Supreme Pontiff make laws, which bind the consciences of men, and at the same time, punish those who break them?

Fourthly: Whether Ecclesiastical jurisdiction was so consigned to the supreme pontiff alone by Christ, that it is derived to the rest of the Church only through him?

Fifthly: Whether apart from spiritual jurisdiction the same Pope might have some temporal power, on account of the fact that he is Pope?

Sixthly: Whether he can have, and in the very matter does have, the rule by donation, of some temporal empire in certain provinces or regions?



De Romano Pontifice: Book I

On the Ecclesiastical Monarchy of the Roman Pontiff

Chapter I: The Question is Proposed: What Might be the Best System of Government?

THERE can be no doubt, that our Savior Jesus Christ could and wished that his Church should govern by that plan and mode that would be the best and most useful. 13 There are three forms of government: Monarchy, that is, of one prince, the contrary vice to which is Tyranny; Aristocracy, that is the rule of the Best men, to which is opposed an Oligarchy; and Democracy, this is, the rule by the whole people, which does not rarely fall into sedition.

The chief philosophers teach this, namely Plato, and Aristotle, 14 and they do so for a good reason. For, if the multitude must be governed, it cannot be done without being governed in some way according to those three ways: either one is put in charge of the commonwealth, or some from many, or everyone altogether. If one, it will be a Monarchy, if some from many, it will be an Aristocracy; if altogether everyone, then a Democracy.

Moreover, although these three might only be simple forms of government, nevertheless, they can be mixed among themselves and from such a mixture four other forms of government are produced. One, combined from all three: the second from monarchy and aristocracy: the third from Monarchy and democracy: the last from democracy and aristocracy. Therein being so constituted, the first question arises, what might be the best form of government from those seven?

Now, John Calvin, in order to altogether block every way in which one usually arrives by disputation to constitute ecclesiastical monarchy, places aristocracy and democracy before all other forms; an aristocracy from simple forms, though in fact it is a mixed form, a government tempered according to his own mind. Most of all, he wished monarchy to be regarded as the worst of all, especially if it were constituted throughout the world or in the Church. His words from the *Institutes* are these: “Should it be as they would have it, that it is good and also useful that the whole world be comprised by one monarchy, which is still very absurd, but should it be so; still I will never concede that it should flourish in the governance of the Church.” 15 And again: “If in itself those three forms of government are considered which the philosophers posit, I myself can hardly deny either aristocracy, or a form combined with popular government by far excels every other form of the state.” 16 Thereafter he showed two arguments; one brought out from experience, the second from divine authority: “It was always sanctioned by experience itself, not only because the Lord confirmed

it by his authority but even more, in that aristocracy is nearest to the form of government he established among the Israelites."

We, on the other hand, follow St. Thomas, and other Catholic theologians, in that from the three simple forms of government we place monarchy before the rest, although on account of the corruption of human nature, we reckon monarchy blended with aristocracy and democracy to be more useful for men in this time than a simple monarchy: nevertheless, only the first parts should be of monarchy, it should have the second aristocracy, and in the last place should be democracy.

To be sure, in order that the whole matter can more easily be explained and confirmed by arguments, we will take up our teaching on the three propositions. The first proposition: from the simple forms the most excellent is monarchy. Second: blended government from all three forms, on account of the corruption of human nature is more useful than simple monarchy. Third: after we have excluded all circumstances, simple monarchy simply and absolutely excels.

Chapter II: The First Proposition is Proved, that Simple Monarchy is Superior to Simple Aristocracy

Let us proceed from the first. We do not especially compare monarchy with mixed forms of government, nor do we place it before all mixed and simple forms; but we assert this, if some simple form of government must necessarily be chosen, without a doubt monarchy should be chosen. Now we will prove it by these arguments.

Firstly: all the old Hebrew, Greek, and Latin writers, theologians, philosophers, orators, historians and poets agree with this opinion. From the Jewish theologians, Philo, praising the teaching of Homer: "That for many to command is evil, there should be one king, it pertains not to citizens and men more than to the world and God." 17

Among the Greeks, blessed Justin teaches that the rule of many is harmful, and on the contrary, the rule of one is more useful and beneficial: "The rule of one is truly freed from wars and dissensions and is usually free." 18 Also St. Athanasius: "Truly we have said that a multitude of gods is a nullity of gods: so also, necessarily a multitude of princes makes it that there should appear to be no prince: however where there is no prince, there confusion is absolutely born." 19

Among the Latins, St. Cyprian teaches the same thing, and he proves most eminently from the very fact that monarchy should be the best and most natural government, because God is one. "For the divine authority, let us borrow from an earthly example: In what way has an alliance of power ever begun with trust, or ended without blood?" 20 St. Jerome says: "One emperor one judge of the province. When Rome was built, she could not have two brothers as kings at the same time." 21 Lastly, one can consult St. Thomas. 22

Now from the philosophers. Plato says: "One dominion has been arranged for good laws, the law of all these is best: but that governance, in which not many command, we ought to esteem as the middle: the administration of many others in all matters is weak, and also frail." 23 Aristotle followed Plato, and after he enumerated these three forms of rule, he adds these words "A kingdom is the best of these, a republic the worst." 24 Seneca said that Marcus Brutus did not act with sufficient prudence when he killed Julius Caesar in the hope of liberty; and giving the reason, he says: "*Since the best state of the citizenry is to be under one just king.*" 25

Next, Plutarch wrote a whole work on Monarchy, and on the rest of the forms to rule the multitude, in which he expressed his opinion: "If the choice

of electing were conceded; one should not choose another, but the power o one." And again, Plutarch wrote the same thing on Solon of Athens, when he said that at Athens many seditions arose when democracy flourished, and immediately adds: "One method, however, appeared to be left over to safety and quiet, if matters would have been brought to the rule of one."

From orators, Isocrates, in that oration which is entitled "Nicocles" contends to show this very thing for many reasons. But John Stobaeus marked it down in this title, o`ti ca,llixon h` monarcia; and also in that discourse of Hesiod, Euripides, Serinus, Ecphantus and many others he produces testimonies to confirm this very thing.

Herodotus, in his histories book 3, which is entitled *Thalia*, when he brought to light the slaughter of the Magi, who had occupied the kingdom of Persia, also shows the disputation which was treated among the princes on establishing a republic. He had departed from their disputation, that shaking off the opinions of those who strove for aristocracy or a commonwealth, in the consensus of all, with only one exception, monarchy was judged to be the most useful and excellent, and on that account it was retained in Persia.

Thereupon among the Poets: Homer in book 2 of the Iliad, advanced that opinion celebrated by nearly all writers, o`uk avgaqo.n polucoirani,h(e=i coi,ranoj e;xw, ei,j basileu,j) [26] Calvin responds to that testimony of Homer whose opinion alone, among so many he objects to: "It is easy", he says, "to respond: monarchy is not even praised in this sense either from the Homeric Ulysses, or from others as if one ought to rule the whole world by means of authority; but they wish to indicate, that a kingdom cannot take two, and power (as he says) is an impatient consort." [27]

But certainly, if it was easy for Calvin to respond, it is easier for us to respond to Calvin. For, either he says nothing, or he says what we say, or he speaks falsity and contradicts himself. If when he says one kingdom cannot have two men, he places the force on the word *kingdom*, and wishes to say a kingdom properly so called cannot take two men, because if there were two there will not be a kingdom properly so called, since a kingdom is properly the supreme power of one man: what is more he says nothing altogether, but only spreads darkness over the inexperienced by the ambiguity of words. For to say in that sense, a kingdom does not take two, means the same as if someone would say, the rule of one is not the rule of two: and one man is not two men: nothing in this pronouncement is due to the wisdom of Ulysses.

Yet, if he does not put the force on that word, but rather he understands by kingdom the multitude who should be ruled, then he says the very thing which we are saying. On this we assert that monarchy excels a commonwealth and aristocracy, because the multitude is not ruled agreeably by many, and power is an impatient consort.

If therefore, he wishes kingdom to be understood, not as a multitude, but some individual province, or one scanty kingdom: that the sense might be

that one king is to be given to one province, nevertheless he is not to be judge of the whole world: then he speaks falsely, and contradicts himself. For the Homeric Ulysses does not dispute over establishing a republic in some individual province, rather he spoke to the whole army of the Greeks, who were then fighting at Troy, in which army there were many nations, many princes, and as many kings, and he affirmed it was not fitting for that whole multitude to be ruled by many, but by one. Therefore, the sense of this famous passage can be none other than, in whichever individual multitude you like there ought to be one primary ruler; because he holds place equally in a scanty kingdom, and in the greatest command; for in one scanty kingdom there ought to be one king, not because it is scanty, but because it is one.

For this reason, if some kingdom was great, as was Assyria, or that of Cyrus, or even of Alexander or Augustus, it was one, it ought to have one prince, and seeing that the Church is one. “There will be no end of his kingdom.,” 28 and, “In the days of their kings the God of heaven will rouse because he is not overthrown”: on that account there even ought to be one king.

Next, Calvin even opposes himself: Accordingly not only does he consider that a monarchy over the whole world would not be advantageous but not even over some individual city or the Church, as is clearly gathered from book 4 of the *Institutes*, 29 where he bestows all ecclesiastical power upon a body of elders: and from the same book, 30 where he praises those cities, which having thrown off the yoke of princes, are governed by senate and people, as the republic of Geneva. Therefore, since Calvin leaves no place for monarchy, he himself saw how well he ought to respond to so many and such serious authors who praise the opinion of Homer.

Another reason is deduced from divine authority, which shows in three ways that monarchy is the best system of government. The first, by the establishment of the human race, God, indeed, made from one every kind of man, as the Apostle says, indeed he did not produce both men and women equally from the ground, but man from the ground and the woman from the man. Showing the reason for this, St. John Chrysostom says that this is so that there should not be democracy among men, but a kingdom. And indeed if many men were produced from the ground at the same time they all would have been equally princes over their posterity; were that the case we could rightly doubt whether the rule of one pleased God. But now, since he made the whole human race from one, and he wished everyone to depend on one clearly, it appears to mean the rule of one is commended more than the governance of many.

Thereupon, God showed his opinion, not only when he inserted the natural propensity to monarchial rule among men, but even among nearly all things. There can be no doubt, whether the natural propensity must be referred back to the author of nature. Moreover, he even declares that in some house

naturally the governance of the spouse, children, of servants and all other affairs naturally pertains to one head of the household, it is, before all other forms of government, the rule of one. In like manner, a great part of the world is governed by kings. 31 Apart from that, monarchy is by far, older than the system of republics. “In the beginning, the rule of nations and empires was in the hands of kings.” 32

Therefore, it appears all living things aspire to the rule of one. St. Cyprian speaks thus: “There is one king for bees, one leader among flocks, and one rule among rams.” 33 St. Jerome adds “And cranes follow one by the order of the litter.” 34 Calvin, however, mocks these testimonies, for he says: “On this matter, if it pleased God that they offer proofs from cranes and bees, who always choose one leader for themselves, there cannot be many proofs Rightly, I accept the testimony they give, but do bees from all over the world merely choose one king? In their beehives are contained individual kings, so also in cranes, each flock has its own king; what else does this evince, than that to each church out to be attributed it’s own bishop?” 35

This response from Calvin is easily refuted. For the Church is as *one sheepfold* (John X) not many sheepfolds: thus it can also be said one beehive and one flock; and on that account, just as there is one king for bees, and cranes follow one in the rank of the litter; so the universal Church out to have and follow one leader and primary teacher. Thereupon cranes and bees are not of that nature, that they can unite when they are absent and placed far away from the union of spirit: and on that account it is little wonder, that they do not flock together throughout the world, that they might choose one king: and in this matter, that each of their flocks have their own king, obviously shows enough, that the government of one is natural.

For, if we evince from these examples brought from very authoritative Fathers, as Calvin says, that to each church ought to be attributed its own bishop, why will he not suffer bishops, except maybe in name only, but instead attributes all ecclesiastical power to a body of elders?

All of these aside, the form of rule which God himself wished to confirm by his authority, can be gathered here chiefly from that state which he established amongst the people of the Hebrews. He did not, as Calvin says (nor can he prove) that the government of the Hebrews was an aristocracy, or a government of many, but was plainly a monarchy. The Princes among the Hebrews were first of all patriarchs, as Abraham, Jacob, Jude and the rest thereupon generals, as Moses and Joshua; then judges, as Samuel, Sampson and others, afterwards kings, as Saul, David and Solomon: thereafter again generals, as Zerubbabel and the Maccabees.

Further, the deeds of the patriarchs show they were provided with royal power. Abraham waged war against four kings: 36 and we do not read anywhere that he received full power from any senate, nor any decree from such a body. Jude judged his daughter in law, who was accused of adultery

with fire, 37 and he did not consult or ask any senate. Moses, as a true and supreme prince of the Jewish people, commanded many thousands of Jews to be killed on account of the golden calf, 38 which they had erected one day. We do not read of any decree of a senate, or that a plebiscite was held. The same thing can altogether be said of the judges, who received no faculty from a senate, or the people, and waged wars that they wished and gave men over to be killed. Certainly Gideon, after the victory over the Medianites, killed seventy men in the city of Socoth, and destroyed the tower of Phanuel. 39

Next, over the fields, and those who attended them, the leaders of the Jews were entrusted with supreme and also royal authority, as is so clear that it is not necessary to prove. Therefore, it remains to be seen where Calvin read that the government of the Jews was by the aristocrats and the people not usually governed by any one particular prince.

By chance, one will object that we have in the first book of Kings (Samuel), Chapter 8, where the Israelites are reproved by God, because they demanded a king. For, if God was not pleased to establish a king for their government, how believable is it that generals and judges were established by God with royal power?

We respond: someone can be put in charge of a state with supreme power in two ways: first, as a king and lord, who depends on no one; the second, that for a king or a primary general, someone is indeed in charge of the whole people, but who, nevertheless, is himself subject to a king.

Therefore, God had in this second manner established the government of the Jews in the time of generals and judges, that he should, without any doubt, be the proper and particular king of that people: and nevertheless, because they were men, and lacked a visible ruler, and one whom they could go to and appeal, he placed before them some man as for a king, who by no means depended upon the people who were subjected to him, but upon the true king, God alone. Hence, to Samuel: “They have not cast you off, but me, lest I should rule over them.” 40 And with the Apostle: “Moses was faithful in the whole of his house as a slave.” 41

However, because the Jews were not content in this state of government they wished to have a king in that prior manner, who not only should command all as one, but even make generals and judges, and even should possess the whole kingdom as his own, and transmit to his sons and grandsons the inheritance. On that account, they were rightly condemned and castigated by the Lord. Nor did that desire of having their own king so displease God that he commanded them to apply a rule by many, or to adapt to the spirit of aristocracy; rather he designated a king as the best for them and afterwards saved and protected both their king and their kingdom for a long time, until it remained as a duty.

The last reason follows, which is deduced from the enumeration of their properties, which everyone holds makes the best government in fact. That

first property is order. In the very matter, if it is a better government, it is because it has been more ordered: however monarchy is more ordered than aristocracy, or democracy, thus it can be proved. All order has been placed in it, that some man should be in charge, others should be subject: nor indeed is order recognized among equals, but rather among superiors and inferiors. Where there is monarchy, there all things altogether have some order, when there might be no man who is not subjected to someone, excepting he who has care of all things. For this reason there is supreme order in the Catholic Church, where the people are subject to their pastors, pastors to bishops, bishops to metropolitans, metropolitans to primates, primates to the supreme pontiff, the supreme pontiff to God. But where governance is in the hands of aristocrats, indeed the people have their own order when they are subjected to the aristocrats, but the aristocrats have none among themselves. Democracy lacks order in a far greater degree, since all citizens are of the same condition and they are all judged to be of authority in the commonwealth.

Another property is the acquisition of its proper end. There can't be any doubt, whether that form of ruling the multitude should be better, which more fittingly and easily acquires its proposed end: the end of government however, is the unity of the citizens among themselves, and peace, which that union appears principally to be centered on, that all might think the same, wish the same and follow the same. They will obtain it much more certainly and easily if one must be obeyed, rather than many; for it can scarcely happen that many, of whom one does not depend on the other, might make judgments about matters in the same way. Therefore, if there are many who rule the multitude, and another commands something, or will not suffer someone, or in various pursuits the people necessarily will be divide; thus, this can scarcely happen when it is the duty of only one to command.

Use confirms this same thing, and experience is the teacher of things. Accordingly, in Ancient Rome under the kings dissensions are rarely read amongst the citizens, after the kings were expelled, however, when a magistrate governed the republic for many years, it was a rare year in which the patricians did not contend with the plebeians, and at length, they progressed even to civil strife, that, in a certain measure, that most powerful republic perished at its own hands. It even happened that there was never a greater and longer peace enjoyed in the roman state than under the emperor Augustus, who established the first stable monarchy at Rome.

The third property is strength and power of a state. That governance which in the judgment of all excels the rest, is the one which makes the state more powerful and stronger: It is a stronger state, in which there is a greater peace and concord among the citizens, indeed the combined strength dissipated among them is itself stronger: but a greater unity is where all depend upon one, than where they depend upon many, as was proved above.

therefore, monarchy makes both a stronger state, and itself is the best government.

Experience agrees: accordingly from the four greatest empires, three rose under kings, obviously the Assyrians, Persians and Greeks: the Roman Empire is the exception, which rose under popular domination, but even then they could not preserve it in great disturbances of affairs without a dictator that is, a king established *pro tempore*. Afterwards it flourished under Augustus more than it had at any time under the Republic.

The fourth property is stability and long duration. Certainly it cannot be denied that that government is better which is more stable and long lasting but monarchy indeed more than aristocracy, or democracy endured the longest time, if it is a question of external force, we already showed that without a doubt it is stronger than the rest.

Now it remains to be seen, whether monarchy is less given to emergencies and change, than any other form of government with there being no external force applied. It is so proved: “Every kingdom divided against itself will be destroyed,” 42 as Christ says in St. Matthew. But it is more difficult for monarchy to be divided, than any other form of rule. It is divided less easily because it is more one: but being more one it is itself a simple one than the multitude agreeing as one. Though truly, the monarchy is one in itself, and naturally, even nothing other than one; the multitude agreeing as one is only one from its character, in itself it is many; therefore, monarchy which depends upon one, can be less easily torn asunder or destroyed than aristocracy or democracy, which depend upon the multitude agreeing as one body.

Herein, the monarchy of the Assyrians from Ninus to Sardanapalus endured for 1240 years without interruption, as Eusebius teaches in his Chronicle; or 1300 as Justin gathers in book 1, or beyond 1400 as Diodorus wishes us to believe. 43 Thus, this kingdom so endured that there was always a son as successor of the dead king in the kingdom, if it is true what Velleius Paterculus wrote in the first volume of his history.

But the kingdom of the Scythians, which is held to be the oldest of all could not be destroyed by any external enemy, as Justin writes in bk 2, nor was it dissolved in itself at any time, for around thousands of years that kingdom stood: there is no republic which was ever as long lived or as stable.

Certainly the most powerful republic of the Romans could scarcely count 480 years, as many years from the expulsion of the kings even to the reign of Julius Caesar. But under the monarchs in the east from Caesar even to the last Constantine, it endured for 1495 years without interruption, in the west however, from the same Caesar even to Augustulus around 500 years, and from Charlemagne even to the present emperor it has been nearly 800. But for the 480 years that democracy flourished in the Roman Empire, the republic was not always ruled in the same manner: from the beginning yearly consuls

were created, a little after they added tribunes, then the consuls and tribunes were taken up, creating the *decemviri*; after a year these were thrown out, and again the consuls and tribunes were recalled not rarely, even dictators and as many military tribunes were brought in with consular power. Therefore, no one form endured long, nor could they all reach the age of noble kingdoms together.

Some, by chance, bring up the Venetian republic, which counts about a thousand and ten years. Yet that has not even attained the years of the kingdom of the Scythians, or of the Assyrians; on the contrary, not even the kingdom of the Franks: and what's more it is not a republic, where aristocracy is mixed with rule by many, the form which Calvin praises, but an aristocracy mixed with monarchy: democracy has never existed in that city.

The fifth and last property is the facility of governance. Indeed, it relates more to whether it can be obtained easily and not with difficulty that the state should be well governed. That it is easier for the state to be ruled rightly by one rather than many can be proved from these reasons.

First: it is easier to find one good man than many. Thereupon, it is easier for the people to obey one than many. On that account, magistracies which take turns, and govern a state for a short time, are often compelled first to lay aside a duty than plainly recognize the business of the state; on the other hand, a king who always exercises the same office, even if from time to time he is of a meager intelligence, nevertheless by use and also experience is better than many others. In like manner, yearly magistracies look after a business of the state, which is not their own, but common, as foreign; a king does so as properly his own. It is certain that it is not only easier, but even more thorough for one to care for his own things, than for others. Where there are many who rule, it can hardly be the case that there would be no rivalry ambition and contention present, and in point of fact it does not rarely happen that some impede others, and effect that, those who govern the affairs at hand will administer the commonwealth badly, in such a case it is better for themselves that when they exercise the magistracy, they receive glory in abundance. But monarchy, which does not have anyone it might envy, or with whom to contend in governance, more easily moderates all things.

Lastly, to the extent that in great households, where many servants are assigned to the same duty, they manage their business badly because one shall leave behind a common duty to another: thus even where there are many heads of state, one looks to another, and while each one throws back the burden on his colleagues, no one sufficiently employs diligent care to the state. A king, however, that knows all things depend upon himself alone, is compelled to neglect nothing. And also, hitherto, it is indeed proven that simple monarchy is better by far than simple aristocracy. Now let us proceed to prove the next proposition.

Chapter III: That Monarchy Mixed with Aristocracy and Democracy, Should be More Useful in this Life

The next proposition is such: government tempered from all three forms on account of the corruption of human nature is more advantageous than simple monarchy. Such a government rightly requires that there should be some supreme prince in the state, who commands all, and is subject to none. Nevertheless, there should be guardians of provinces or cities, who are not vicars of the king or annual judges, but true princes, who also obey the command of the supreme prince and meanwhile govern their province, or city not as someone else's property, but as their own. Thus, there should be a place in the commonwealth both for a certain royal monarchy and also an aristocracy of the best princes.

What if we were to add to these that neither the supreme king nor the lesser princes would acquire those dignities in hereditary succession, rather the aristocrats would be carried to those dignities from the whole people; then Democracy would have its attributed place in the state. That this is the best and in this mortal life the most expedient form of rule, we shall prove from two arguments.

First, a government of this sort should have all those goods, which above we showed are present in monarchy, and should be on that account in this life more favorable and useful. And indeed, it is plain that the goods of monarchy are present in this our government, since this government truly and properly embraces some element of monarchy: it can be observed that this [government] is going to be more favorable in all things, however, because of this very fact, that all love that kind of government more in which they can be partakers; without a doubt this our [form of government] is such, although this is not conveyed by any kind of virtue.

We will speak nothing on the advantage, however, since it may be certain that one individual man cannot rule each individual province and city by himself; whether he might wish or not, he would be compelled for the sake of their care to demand it from his vicars of administration, or from his own princes of these places. Again, it is equally certain, that princes are much more diligent and faithful for their own things than governing vicars for someone else's.

Another argument is added from divine authority. God established a rule of this sort, such as we have just described, in the Church both in the Old and New Testaments. Furthermore, this can be proved from the Old Testamen

quite easily: The Hebrews always had one, or ten, or a judge, or a king, who commanded the whole multitude and many lesser princes, about which we read in the book of Exodus: “With vigorous men being chosen from all Israel he established them princes of the people, tribunes and centurions, both captains of fifty, and of ten, who judged the people at all times.” 44 Also, one can see in the first Chapter of the book of Deuteronomy, there is clearly democracy in some manner.

On the Church of the new Testament the same thing will need to be proven, as evidently there is monarchy in the person of the Supreme Pontiff and also in that of the bishops (who are true princes and shepherds, not merely vicars of the supreme pontiff), there is aristocracy and at length, there is a certain measure of democracy, since there is no man from the whole multitude of Christians who could not be called to the episcopacy, provided he is judged worthy for that office.

Chapter IV: That Without the Circumstances of this World, Simple Monarchy Would Absolutely and Simply Excel

The Third proposition follows, which was such: Without the circumstances of this world, simple monarchy is absolutely and simply better than all other forms of governance. For, if in this case, we placed mixed government among men of a simple monarchy, that one man can't be in all places, and necessarily would be compelled either through his administrators or through princes to take care of the business of state; certainly in this circumstance of person, and in others if some of the same kind were excluded there will be no reason why simple monarchy should not be preferred to all forms of government.

But we have besides that a more efficacious argument. Since simple monarchy in the empire of God and Christ holds place, and moreover the best things ought to be attributed to God and Christ, therefore, the best government must be simple monarchy. If anyone, however, should wish to deny that, I do not see in what way he could avoid falling into the error of the Marcionists and Manichees, or even of the Heathen. For, since the world is governed best by its creator, and without controversy, if aristocracy were the best form of government, many would be moderators of this world, and therefore, it follows, many creators, many first principles, and many gods.

Wherefore the old Fathers, St. Cyprian, St. Justin, St. Athanasius, among whom even the Jewish writer Philo can be added, there is one God, who rules all created things and governs them, in that argument they principally prove that monarchy is the best government: Justin and Philo even left written books on the monarchy of God for that very purpose.

Since these things are so, the error of John Calvin cannot be excused, who being completely blinded by his hatred of ecclesiastical hierarchy, prefers aristocracy to all other forms of government, even if the question should be considered with all circumstances removed. These are his own words: "And if you compare these situations among themselves on the other side of the circumstances, you may not easily discern what might be of more weight with respect to utility, to that extent they contend in equal conditions." 45 And a little after that: "Truly if those three were considered in themselves, that is the forms of government which the philosophers put forth, I could hardly deny either aristocracy, or a state tempered by oligarchy, should by far excel all the others." 46

But you will say, it follows from law, and you will discover the answer to your objection. Thus, indeed, Calvin adds: "Not in itself, therefore, but

because it rarely happens, that kings so control themselves, that their will is never out of harmony with what is just and right: thereupon, being instructed with such acumen and prudence, that each one should see to it that there is sufficient quantity. Therefore, he commits all the vices of men, or lacks them that it is safer and more tolerable, to have many heads of state."

I hear it: but what will become of the edition of 1554, where those words are not contained? But you will say, after he was admonished, he emended the error. I omit what was not imposed on such a teacher in Israel, that if ever he fell so seriously, I wonder that, Calvin could not correct that error, unless he opposed himself; for if, as he says, it is not easy to discern, which state should outweigh the other, even if they were compared with themselves beyond the circumstances of this world: and if while these there were considered, which the philosophers put forth, aristocracy is shown to excel; how true is it, what he immediately adds: "Not indeed in itself, " etc. and: "Therefore, he commits all the vices of men, or lacks them, that it is safer and more tolerable, to have many heads of state."? Indeed these are opposed, unless I'm mistaken.

No less are these opposed: "It cannot be discerned which one outweighs the other, if they should be considered beyond the circumstances of this world," and: "He commits the vices of men, that aristocracy should be judged more useful." For, removing the question of the vices of men, and also all other circumstances being removed, monarchy excels, or not: if it excels, for what reason will it be true that it cannot be discerned which state should outweigh the other, even if compared outside of circumstances? If it does not excel, by what argument do we defend the monarchy of God against the Manicheans and the Heathen? Now, however, we are already coming to the next question.

Chapter V: The Second Question is Proposed; Should the Ecclesiastical Government be a Monarchy?

Since it has been shown that monarchy is the best government, the second question arises: whether the monarchical government is suitable to the Church of Christ. And also that we might separate certainty from doubt, we agree with our adversaries on three things. One is that in the Church there is some government, for in Canticles we read: “The columns of the camp are drawn out.” 47 In Acts, we have: “Attend to your own and the whole flock, because the Holy Spirit has placed bishops to rule the Church of God.” 48 In Hebrews “*Obey those placed over you.*” 49

The second, is that ecclesiastical government is spiritual and distinct from the political order: when indeed Paul said: “Who presides in solicitude.” 50 And “Who carries out his duties well shall be held in honor twofold.” 51 And similar things: there were not yet any, or certainly very rarely secular princes in the Church. Those two things even Calvin teaches. 52

The third is that the absolute and free king of the whole Church is Christ alone, about whom it is said: “I have been established a king by him over his holy mountain, Zion.” 53 And in Luke we read: “And of his reign there will be no end.” 54 Therefore, an absolute and free monarch is not sought in the Church, or an aristocracy, or democracy, but such a quality can be of ministers and dispensers, since Paul said: “Thus a man esteems us, as ministers of Christ and dispensers of the mysteries of God.” 55

And indeed, our adversaries reckon that the ecclesiastical government which was consigned to men by Christ is by no means monarchy, rather aristocracy and democracy, although they do not all agree among themselves. Illyricus, teaches that there is no one in the Church who is in charge of all, but the whole ecclesiastical authority is both in the ministers and in the people; 56 nevertheless, in another book, 57 he attributed supreme power to the multitude of the whole Church, giving the first place to democracy in the Church, then the second to aristocracy, that is the congregation of the elders. Calvin, on the contrary, grants supreme power to the body of elders, over whom he wishes a bishop to be in charge, as a consul of the senate. 58 He teaches the same thing clearly, that the greater authority is the body of elders rather than bishops. Calvin, however, attributes something to the people, but less than a body of elders. Next, John of Brenz concedes supreme power to aristocrats: 59 but he would not have it that they are bishops, rather secular princes, whom he contends are the most noble members of the Church. For a long time Catholic teachers have all agreed on the point, that the ecclesiastical government which was consigned to men by God is indeed a monarchy, but

tempered, as we said above, by aristocracy and democracy. 60 Following thei
footsteps, we now bring four propositions into the midst, and defend thei
strength. The first will be that the government of the Church is not in the
power of the people. Second, it is not in the power of secular princes. Third, i
is not chiefly in the power of ecclesiastical princes. Fourth, it is especially in
the power of one supreme governor and priest of the whole Church.

Chapter VI: That the Government of the Church Should not be a Democracy

Thereupon, the first denial is proposed, namely of popular Ecclesiastical government, and it can be confirmed by these arguments, firstly, from four things, which ought to be present in all popular government.

First, where there is popular government, magistracies are established by the people themselves, and also receive their authority from them. Since one cannot sit to declare a law of the people in itself, he ought at least to consult some who do so in their name. For that reason, Cicero calls the office of Consul, which was the greatest magistracy in the Roman Republic, the benefice of the people; 61 and he says in the same place, that consuls were created to preserve the right of the people to vote.

Secondly, where there is popular government, a decree of the magistrate may be appealed against in serious matters by bringing it to the judgment of the people: this custom was witnessed in the Roman Republic by Livy, 62 and Plutarch teaches the same thing about the Athenian republic in his work on Solon.

Thirdly, the laws by which the state must be governed, while indeed proposed by a magistrate, are commanded by the people, as is certain from Livy. The same can be recognized in Cicero. 63

Fourthly, magistracies are usually accused by the people, and indeed deprived of dignity and sent into exile, or even beaten to death, if it appears expedient to the people; there are many examples of this. The Romans, for instance, by the two first consuls whom they had created, deprived Tarquinius Callatinus of his magistracy before his time only on account of the odious name of the Tarquinius, as Livy recalls it. Likewise, when they had created the *decemviri*, they deposed the same against their will, as Livy again witnesses in book 2 of his histories.

Now, it can easily be proved that none of these examples would be fitting to the Christian people. Therefore, to the first argument, it is certain enough in that in the whole scripture there is not one word whereby, authority can be given to the people for creating bishops or priests: rather, such authority is given to a bishop whereby: “For this reason I left you behind in Crete, so that you would correct those things which are wanting, and would ordain priests in every city, as I also appointed you.” 64 Thereupon, the apostles, who were the first ministers of the Church, were constituted by Christ, not by the Church, as we read in Mark VI. Also, the first bishops after the apostles, at a time in which the Church was purest, were not made by the people, but by the apostles, as can be recognized even by the historians of Magdeburg

themselves. 65 For the Centuriators witness, at Iconium, and Antioch shepherds were given by Paul, and they teach, following Nauclero and other historians, that Apollinarus was established a bishop by St. Peter at Ravenna and likewise Majernum at Treveris, and Hermagora at Aquileiam.

Irenaeus asserted that Linus was made a bishop by the apostles Peter and Paul at Rome. 66 Tertullian wrote, that Clement was made a bishop at Rome by Peter, and St. Polycarp of Smyrna by John the Apostle. 67 Eusebius affirms, that Timothy was made a bishop at Ephesus by Paul, and Titus a Cretensis. 68 Nicephorus writes that Plato was made a bishop by Matthew the apostle in the town of the Anthropophagi, by the name of Mirmena. St. Mark was created a bishop by St. Peter and sent to Alexandria. 69 Dionysius, also the Areopagate, was made a bishop by Paul at Athens, which is gathered from Eusebius, 70 and Bede asserts the same thing in his martyrology. We could easily show the same thing on many others. Since these things are so, it appears sufficiently, that in this first and purest age of the Church, there was no place for democracy since not the people, but the apostles established the ecclesiastical magistracy.

Nor is the second argument, on the appeal to the people fitting for the Christian people. It has never been heard of in the Church, that one might appeal from the bishops to the people, nor that the people should absolve those whom the bishop bound, or bound those whom the bishops absolved. Nor has it ever happened, that the people judged on the controversies of Faith and we indeed advance many judgments of bishops, and especially of the supreme pontiff, which exist in volumes of councils. But our adversaries cannot advance even one judgment of the people.

Add that, how innumerable are the Scriptures, the testimonies of the Councils and Fathers, whereby it is proved that it is by no means fitting for the Christian people to exercise ecclesiastical judgment, which we have partly brought in the question on ecclesiastical judgment, and partly bring in questions on Councils. But certainly, if in the Church a government of the people flourished, it would be a wonder that in 1500 years nothing ever was judged by the people.

Next, the third argument, that imposing laws is even less fitting to a Christian people. All ecclesiastical laws are discovered to have been imposed either by Bishops or by Councils; they have never awaited the vote of the people, as if it were reckoned that authority resided therein. Hence, St. Paul crossing over Syria and Cilicia, commanded the people, that they should guard the precepts of the apostles and elders. 71 However, there is no law whereby a plebiscite may be called in the Church, nor any such laws as there were in the Roman Republic.

Thereupon, that last argument, on judgment of a magistrate, hardly fits at all. No bishop can be shown to have either been deposed or excommunicated by the people, although many are found who were deposed and

excommunicated by the Supreme Pontiffs and general Councils. Certainly Nestorius was deposed from the episcopacy of Constantinople by the Counci of Ephesus, from the mandate of Pope Celestine, as Evagrius witnessed Dioscorus was deprived of the bishopric of Alexandria by the council o Chalcedon, from the decree of St. Leo, which is clear from that Council Act 3 and this indeed is the first reason.

Another reason is taken up from the wisdom of God. It is not credible tha Christ, the wisest king, established in his Church that form of governmen which is the most degenerate of all: for the most degenerate government i democracy, as Plato teaches in his dialogue *Axiochus*: "Who can be happy living by the common will, even if he should be favored and applauded b it?" etc. Aristotle, from the three forms of ruling the multitude pronounce monarchy the best, and democracy the worst. Plutarch reports, tha Anacharsides the Scythian marveled, that in Greece wise men speak, while fools judge, for without a doubt the orators were speaking, while the people gave judgment. Likewise, in Apophtheg, he says Lycurgus was asked, why Sparta had not established a democracy; he responded to the one asking saying let him first establish it at home.

From our own authors, St. Ambrose says on the common multitude: "I does not pay merit to virtue, nor examine the benefits of public advantage, bu changes to uncertainty in disturbance." 72 St. Jerome adds: "The mob i always mobile, and is given to the manner of the blowing and diversities o the winds, going from here to there." 73

St. John Chrysostom defines the people as full of tumult and disturbance the greater part being constituted of foolishness, and also composed of a rash nature like the waves of the sea, changeable and repeatedly thrown in to contentious opinion; thereupon he adds: "Therefore, whoever is pressed into the servitude of this sort, is he not rightly the most miserable of all? " 74 Even right reason agrees. For, can it not be but the worst government, where the wise are ruled by fools, the experienced by the inexperienced, the good by the bad, yet such a government is democracy; for where democracy flourishes, all are established in suffrage: however, it is certain that there will always be many fools as wise, wicked as good, inexperienced as experienced.

To this, as Aristotle teaches, those who exert power from genius, these naturally are the lords of those who are less so. 75 Moreover, as St. Augustine says: "It is better that, where many foolish men live, they ought to be the servants of the wise." 76 Who cannot see what a disturbance of order it would be, to allow the governance of the state to be handed to the undisciplined multitude of the people?

Lastly, if the people should have some authority in the governance of the Church, or should have it from themselves, or from another, yet this power is not of themselves, because it is not from the law of nature or nations, rather from divine and supernatural law. Indeed, it is not the same as civil power

which is in the people, unless it should be transferred to a prince. Nor do the people have it from another: they ought, indeed, to have it from God if they have it from another: but they do not have it from God; accordingly in God's book, that is in the Holy Scripture, there is no place where the power of teaching, shepherding, ruling, binding and loosing is handed to the people rather the people are always called the flock which ought to be put to pasture Moreover, it is said to Peter: "Feed my sheep," and again, "The Holy Spirit placed Bishops to rule the Church of God." 77 Therefore, we do not have popular government over the Church. Yet, against this proposition there are three arguments. The first is taken from the words of the Gospel of Matthew 18: "Say to the Church:" where it appears the supreme tribunal of the Church is constituted in the power of the whole body of the faithful.

We respond: that phrase: "Say to the Church" means, bring to the public judgment of the Church, that is to those who govern the public person in the Church. Thus also Chrysostom shows that "Say to the Church," means to the prelate, because the custom of the Church rightly confirms it; nor even do we ever see or hear the cause of some criminal to be brought before the multitude of the people: but rather the case is judged by the bishop, as we often see and more often have heard.

The second argument is deduced from Acts of the Apostles, Chapters 1 and 6. For in Acts 1 the whole Church chose Mathias: and in Acts 6, the same Church chose seven deacons, and the Fathers in passing teach, the election of bishops pertains to the people.

We respond: on the election of ministers we must dispute in another place. Meanwhile, though we deny it from that law, which held the people were at some time involved in the election of ministers, that this somehow proves there was democracy in the Church in any way: accordingly the people did not ever ordain, nor create the ministers, nor render to them any power but merely nominated and designated, or as the Fathers say, asked for them whom they desired to be ordained through the imposition of hands made by bishops. Whereby the apostles say in Acts 6: "Consider seven men of good testimony, whom we shall constitute for this work." Where they only grant to the people, that they should seek and offer some suitable to the office: but the Apostles created those who were offered as deacons, not the people. Cyprian also teaches this: "The Lord chose apostles, the apostles constituted deacons for themselves." 78 On that account, where, even if the people were truly to create bishops, the ecclesiastical government would not be a democracy. For indeed that some government should be a democracy it is required that the people should constitute the magistracy, but many other things are required and that alone does not suffice in itself. The first kings were chosen by the people, and nevertheless their government is monarchy, not democracy.

Proportionately, Roman emperors were once chosen by their soldiers, and now they are chosen by certain princes: and just the same the empire pertains

to monarchy, not to democracy. Should there be democracy, were it fitting, as was done in the election of a prince, still there would be a greater authority in the people than in the prince, and a judgment of the prince could be challenged by seeking a judgment of the people. This should not be in the Church, just as it should was not in be a kingdom or in the empire of the Romans. Valentianus the elder, understanding this, as Sozomenus refers, when the soldiers wished to give him a colleague in imperium, he responded: "It was you who chose to put imperium in my power: but already when I was chosen by you, you demanded someone as a consort of imperium, but it was not placed in your power to choose, but in mine." 79

The third argument comes from the authority of Saints Cyprian and Ambrose. Cyprian wrote to [his] priests and deacons on certain turbulent brethren: "Meanwhile, they should be forbidden to offer, and act both with us and with the whole people in their cause, etc." 80 Ambrose, arguing on a judgment of faith: "The people have already judged." and again: "Auxentius has run to your examination." 81

I respond: St. Cyprian was accustomed to treat almost all major business in the presence of the clergy and the people, and did nothing without their consent. Moreover, he did this of his own will, he was not compelled by any law, as is certain when he said: "When I had decided from the beginning of my episcopacy to do nothing from my private judgment without your counsel and without the consensus of the people, etc." 82 But Cyprian was not subject to the clergy or the people on that account: just as king Xerxes was not subject to those wise men, with whom he made all his counsels, as we read in the book of Esther, Chapter 1. Even if Cyprian had subjected himself to the clergy and the people, which is not in the least credible, he could not have immediately prescribed a law for the whole Church.

Yet for what pertains to St. Ambrose, he speaks in that place on a private judgment, in which each established that something should be followed for themselves, not on public judgment, which he had authority of binding the rest. This much can be seen in the words of the same Ambrose, when he says in the same place: "They should come openly, who are to the Church, let them hear with the people, not that each should reside as a judge, but that each should have an examination from his own disposition, let them choose which he ought to follow."

Chapter VII: That Ecclesiastical Government Should not be in the Power of Secular Princes

Another proposition, which denies that ecclesiastical government pertains to secular princes, is opposed to two errors of Brenz. The first error is that aristocrats should be secular princes of the Church: for Brenz so disparages bishops, that he would have it that they were the possession of princes. The second is, that the care and government of the church particularly pertains to aristocrats. Such errors King Henry VIII of England also held: for he constituted himself as head of the English Church, and in the same way reckoned that other princes should be the supreme head of the Church in their dominions.

Indeed, the first error is easily refuted from those prophetic words in the Psalms: “For your fathers sons are born to you, they established them as princes over all the earth.” 83

Thus St. Augustine teaches on this citation, *for fathers*, that is, apostles sons are born, that is the many faithful, who God established as bishops, and in this way they are princes over all the earth. Also, St. Jerome says on the same place: “O Church, your fathers were apostles, because they gave birth to you, but now because they have passed on from this world, you have for them bishops as sons.” And further on: “The Princes of the Church, that is the bishops, were established.” The Greek Fathers say nothing different Chrysostom, and Theodoret express patriarchs through fathers; through sons they understand princes as apostles. Likewise the Apostle says: “in the Church he placed first apostles, second prophets, third even teachers.” 84

If the first are apostles, who were bishops, and for whom bishops succeeded, certainly the first are not kings and secular princes. Rather, as St John Damascene rightly noted, not only did the Apostle not place kings in the first place, but in no place, that he would show that kings are not the government of the Church, but only of the world.

The second is refuted from the Fathers. Ignatius says 85 that nothing is more honorable than a bishop in the Church: and he added, the first honor should be to God, the second to the bishop, the third to a king. St. Gregory Nazianzen, that they were precluded from fear. 86 St. John Chrysostom and St. Ambrose most certainly prefer a bishop to a king. 87

In fact, Chrysostom subjects kings not only to bishops, but even to deacons; thus even to his deacon he speaks: “If any general you like, if a consul, if he is adorned with a crown, should come unworthily, restrain and punish him; you have greater power than he.” 88 St. Augustine proves, that Moses was a priest from the reason that Moses was greater, and nothing is

greater than a priest. 89 And Gelasius says: “You know, O beloved son, tha although you preside over earthly affairs with the dignity of the human race nevertheless you devotedly submit to prelates as heads of the divine.” 90 And further on in the same letter: “It is supplied that you ought to recognize one in order of religion more than to be over them. Therefore, know that your judgment depends upon them, that they cannot be ruled according to your will.”

St. Gregory asserts the first members in the body of the Lord are priests And he teaches that priests are like Gods among men, and on that account must be held in honor by all, even kings; 91 Pope Nicholas I teaches and proves the same thing in his Epistle to Michael.

Thirdly, from the deeds of bishops and kings. For Pope Fabian excluded the first Christian emperor from communion of the Sacrament of the altar on Easter, on account of some public sin he committed: nor would he admit him before he had purged it by confession and penance. 92 Likewise, Constantius openly professed that he could not judge concerning bishops, because they were Gods: but on the other hand he was chiefly to stand subject to their judgment. 93

St. Ambrose expelled Theodosius the elder from the threshold of the Church, and compelled him to undergo a public penance. Another time when the emperor in the Church ascended to the places of the priests and also wished to sit in the same place, Ambrose commanded him to descend and sit with the people, which he did gladly. 94

Thereupon Sulpitius writes on the life of St. Martin, that the emperor Maximus, when he sat down to dinner, where St. Martin was also sitting, and the cupbearer wished to offer the first chalice to the emperor, as to the most noble of all, he sent him to the bishop, who did not refuse, but first drank, and afterward he handed the chalice not to the emperor, but to his priest obviously he esteemed no one more worthy who should drink after himself he did not prefer the whole group to himself, neither the king or whose who were near him, but the priest.

Lastly, the same error is refuted by a two-fold reason. First, a bishop anoints a king, teaches, binds, absolves and blesses him: moreover, the Apostle says in Hebrews: “Without contradiction it is no less a thing to be blessed by a better man.”

On that account, secular rule was established by men, and it is from the law of nations: but ecclesiastical rule was established by God alone, and is from divine law. The former rules men, as they are men, and more to the cause of the body than the soul; but the latter rules men, as they are Christians, and more to the soul than the body; the former has temporal rest and the safety of the people for his end; the latter has happy and eternal life for his end. The former uses natural laws and human institutions; the latter

uses divine laws and divinely established sacraments. The former wages wars with a few and visible enemies, the latter with invisible and infinite enemies.

But Brentz objects: Bishops are servants of the Church. "We do not preach ourselves, but Jesus Christ, furthermore we are your servants through Jesus." 95 So much more should they be the servants of kings, especially when St. Peter spoke about kings thus: "Be subject to every human creature on account of God, whether king as though preeminent, or leaders as though sent from him." 96

I respond: there is a twofold species of servitude: for all who labor in the full measure of another, they are said to serve him, but indeed they labor and serve another by ruling him, and presiding over him; and there are those who labor and serve by submitting and obeying; such are properly in possession bishops, however, are servants of the Church, but to the prior mode; just as even a magistracy serves the state, and a king the people (if he might be a king and not a tyrant), and a father his sons and a teacher his students.

Whereby St. Paul had said he was the slave of those whom he said he was their father: "Through the gospel, I begot you." And he added: "What do you want? Should I come to you in the rod, could it be in charity and the spirit or mildness? " And again: "Obey those who have been placed over you, and be subject to them." And "The Holy Spirit has placed bishops to rule the Church of God." 97 For this reason St. Gregory called himself the servants of the servants of God. And St. Augustine says: "Inspire, O Lord, in your servants my brothers, your sons and my lords, whom I serve by voice, heart and letter.' 98 And St. Bernard says that Eugene, when he was made Pope, was elevated above nations and kings to minister to them, not lord it over them. 99

But you will say, kings are kings, even in the Church, and Christians ought to be subject to them, *as though to ones preeminent*. Indeed it is true but only in those affairs, which pertain to the state. Certainly, Christian kings are preeminent over Christian men, not as Christians, but as men, just as they are even over Jews and Turks, but as men of state; for as Christians they are sheep subject to their pastors, the bishops, as St. Gregory Nazianzen and St Ambrose taught, whom we quoted above, and St. Basil, who taught nothing can be said to be of more honor, than that an emperor should be called a son of the Church: indeed a good emperor is within the Church and not over it.

The second error of Brentz is easily refuted from the foregoing. If princes are not aristocrats of the Church, then aristocracy in the Church does not pertain to them. Nevertheless, these arguments can be added on that account.

First, the government of the Church is supernatural; it is fitting for no one except whom God has commissioned. Moreover, we read in the Scriptures of what was entrusted to the apostles and the bishops, their successors. For it was said to Peter the Apostle, in the last Chapter of John, "Feed my sheep.' And on Bishops, it is said in Acts, "whom God placed as bishops to rule the Church of God." We read nothing at all about kings.

Thereupon, for the first 300 years there was no secular prince in the Church except for the emperor Philip alone, who lived for a very short time and by chance someone else in provinces not subject to the roman empire; ye nevertheless, the same Church existed then which exists now, and it had the same form of government, therefore secular princes did not rule the Church o Christ.

In like manner, those who have supreme power in the state, can have al the things which lower officials can. Indeed, can someone prohibit a king, i he wished to judge those reasons in themselves to recognize and judge, wha he entrusted to viceroys, and magistrates, and lower judges? But kings canno usurp the duty of a bishop, priest, or deacon to himself, as such things are tc preach the word of God, baptize, consecrate, etc. Therefore, kings are not the supreme magistracy of the Church.

Moreover, that kings cannot invade the duties of priests, we so prove. In the first place, kings are not only men, but they can even be women: and the Apostle prohibits women to teach publicly, 100 and the Peputians are numbered among the heretics by Augustine and Epiphanius, because they attributed the priesthood to women. 101

Thereupon, Josaphat the greatest king says: “Amarias will preside as a priest and pontiff, in those things which pertain to God: next Zabadias will be devoted to those things, which pertain to the office of king.” 102 And when Ozias the king wished to burn incense, the priest forbade him, saying: “It is not your duty, Ozia, that you should burn incense to the Lord, rather the priests’.” 103 But since he persevered, immediately he was struck with a very serious leprosy by God. Yet, if in the Old Testament a king could not exercise the office of priests, how much less in the New, where there are by far more august sacerdotal offices?

Likewise, we read in the Synod of Autun (*Matisconensis*), in the Counci of Miletus, and Toledo, that clerics are to be gravely punished if they would bring a subject of the Church to secular judgment. 104 And St. Ambrose says that to Valentinian: “Do not weigh yourself down, O Emperor, that you should think yourself to have some imperial right in those things which are divine.’ 105 Likewise, as Theodoret relates, St. Ambrose said to the emperor Theodosius the same thing; “The purple makes emperors, not priests.” 106 Theodoret also relates about a certain Eulogius, on an occasion when Modestus, the prefect of the Arian emperor Valens, said to him: “Join with the emperor;” but he responded with wit: “Do you also attend on the bishopric with the emperor? ”

St. Athanasius also rebuked Constantius, because he had mixed himself in with ecclesiastical affairs, and adds that Hosius, the Bishop of Cordova, said to the same Emperor: “Do not instruct us in this way, but rather learn from us God entrusted imperium to you, but to us those things which are of the Church.” 107 Liontius the bishop said the same things to Constantius, as

Suidas witnesses. Sulpitius relates that St. Martin said to the Emperor Maximus, that it was unlawful, a novelty and unheard of, that he might as a secular judge make determinations on the business of the Church.

St. Augustine teaches, that the duty of pious kings is to defend the Church, and to punish blasphemies, sacrilege and heretics with severe laws and penalties: but in the same place he rebukes the Donatists, because they brought an episcopal plea not to their brother bishops, but to an earthly king to pass judgment. 108 St. Gregory the Great, when speaking about the emperor Maurice, said: “It is known, for most pious lords to love discipline and keep order, to venerate the canons and not get mixed up in the business of priests.” 109 St. John Damascene amply teaches the same thing. 110 Thereafter, the emperor Basil, in the Eighth General Council, eloquently asserted, that neither he nor any other laymen was allowed to treat on priestly business; because the same had been professed even by Valnetinan the elder as Sozomen witnesses above.

The arguments of Brentz are taken from examples of the Old Testament where we read that Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, and Josias, who were generals or kings, often mixed themselves in the business of religion. Brentz even adds to confirm the argument, that the custody of divine laws had been entrusted to kings by God, and therefore the care of the Church pertains to them. Thus even the Apostle said: “He bears a sword not without cause. He is a minister of God, an avenger in anger to him who works evil.” 111

We respond: Moses was not only a general, but also the high priest, that in a question on the judgment of controversies, which is shown in my work *de Verbo Dei*, bk 3. The rest, however, now and then worked not just as kings but also as prophets by an extraordinary authority. But not for that reason was that law to be blotted out from Deuteronomy, by which ordinarily in doubts on religion, men were remitted not to the king, but to a priest of the Levitical race. 112 What is more, as we said above, Oziah, the king, was punished by leprosy, when he assumed the office of the priest.

Furthermore, we respond in confirmation of the fact that kings ought to be guardians of divine laws, but not interpreters; it is indeed for them to impede blasphemies, heresies and sacrileges by edicts. Moreover, since there are heresies, they ought to learn from the bishops what is in fact the Orthodox Faith, which pious emperors, Constantine, Valentinian, Gratian, Theodosius and Marianus, did, as can be recognized from history.

Chapter VIII: That Ecclesiastical Government Should not be Chiefly in the Power of Bishops

The third proposition follows, which teaches that the government of the Church should not chiefly be in the power of bishops and priests, against two errors of Calvin. The first error of Calvin is that bishops and priests are equal by divine law, while the second, is that supreme power in the Church resides in a body of elders. John Huss held to the same error, which can be understood from the condemnations of the Council of Constance. 113

Now the first error in that disputation will be more appropriately refuted than on clerics, and we will establish it in its place. In the meantime, it will be enough to refute the first error from the one that follows. Accordingly, these two errors are opposed among themselves. If the Church is ruled by aristocrats, as the second error would have it, certainly Priests are not aristocrats, but if Priests are aristocrats, then the Church is not ruled by aristocrats, since it is certain that there were never priests present in general Councils wherein the administration of the whole Church was conducted with authority to define, and where laws were imposed or abrogated whereby the Church is ruled, unless they were legates, and they held the place of some bishops. That is not necessary to prove otherwise than from the very acts of the councils which are still extant.

Now the second error, which is more properly of this argument, is confounded for these reasons. First, it is never read in the scriptures that supreme power was conferred into a Council of priests: whatever authority was conceded to the Apostles and the rest of the disciples by Christ, was conceded not only to all but even to individuals; and it was not necessary to exercise it in Council. Indeed individual apostles, and without a doubt individuals bishops could and can even now teach, baptize, loose, bind, ordain ministers etc. The only place is Matthew 18, where something is handed down in Council, when it is said: “Where there will have been two or three gathered in my name, there I am in their midst.”

What the power of a Council might actually consist of, however, whether it is supreme, medium or lowest, shall not be explicated here. Calvin himself does not make much of this reference in the gospel, that he would say that it is nothing less in whichever particular body you like to meet, than in a general Council. For that reason, we shall not labor much on this argument at present.

Secondly, if supreme power of governance were in the hands of aristocrats, it would follow that the Church would almost always lack rulers and most of all, there would be no one who would take care of the common good: hence, the ecclesiastical commonwealth would be very miserable, as indeed, aristocrats would be equal among themselves, as is proper, and could

not administer the common good unless they were either gathered together, o choose, by a common consensus, some magistrate, whom they would al obey, in the fashion in which the Romans elected their consuls.

But in the Church, aristocrats are rarely gathered in a general Council For the first 300 years there was no general Council: afterward scarcely every 100 years, but a magistrate, whom the universal Church would obey at leas for a time, was never created by these aristocrats; for if they would create someone, he would most likely be one of the five patriarchs, who were always prominent in the Church. But our adversaries contend that the Roman Patriarch never had this power: from the other four, this business is very certain: the Patriarch of Alexandria never had this power outside of Egypt nor the others outside of their regions.

This is why, St. Jerome asks: "Tell me, what in Palestine pertains to the bishop of Alexandria?" 114 And Chrysostom, who was asked about Theophilus, the patriarch of Alexandria, who was conducting ecclesiastical business outside of his province, said: "It is not right, that those who are in Egypt, should judge those who are in Thrace." 115

How absurd would this be, that the Catholic Church, which is so truly one, that in the Scriptures it should be called one city, one house, one body and still would have no one on earth, who should take care of it? Who can't see it? For, if the particular Churches were not so united in themselves that they formed one body, it would suffice that each were its own ruler, but they could no more lack an individual ruler than one flock can lack a shepherd, and one body its head.

Thirdly, if supreme power should be in a body of aristocrats, wherein were a greater number compelled to attend a Council, so much greater would be the authority: in that it could never turn out, that more authority could be given to a Council attended by fewer persons than one attended by more.

But the Council of Rimini was attended by 600 bishops, and has never been held to have had authority in the Catholic Church. The first Council of Constantinople on the other hand, had 450 bishops, and has always been held to have enjoyed the greatest authority. And we recall this for the sake of the present controversy, because that was called by the Pope, whose supreme power in the Church has been rejected by our adversaries. Moreover, those who grant supreme power of the Church to aristocrats, can offer no reason why they condemn the council of Rimini, but embrace the Council of Constantinople. But, they say, the Council of Rimini erred, but the first council of Constantinople did not; on that account, they embrace the latter and condemn the former. But what else is this, than to make onself the judge of Councils and of the whole Church?

Fourthly, although democracy is absolutely the worst form of government nevertheless, it appears more pernicious for the Church than aristocracy Accordingly, the worst thing for the Church is heresy: however, heresies are

more often excited amongst the aristocrats, than among the common faithful Certainly almost all Heresiarchs were either bishops or priests; therefore heresies are almost like factions amongst aristocrats, without which there would be no sedition in the Church of the people. But factions never arise more easily or frequently than when aristocrats rule, as can be proved not merely from example, and the testimony of philosophers, but even from the confession of Calvin himself. 116

But our adversaries object based on the testimony of three Scriptures joined even to three witnesses of the Fathers. The first is Acts 15, where we read that the first controversy of the Church arose, and was defined not by some individual supreme judge, but by the agreement of the apostles and elders: “They agreed, the apostles and the elders to consider on this word.”

I respond: here no argument can be asserted for aristocracy. In fact, in that very council where that first question was defined, Peter was the president and head: nor indeed would Peter, who was in someone else’s diocese whose bishop, James, was present, dared to have spoken first, except that he was in charge of the whole council. Moreover it is not opposed to monarchy that something would be decided upon in public assembly by the common counsel and agreement of princes, in the same manner as it usually happened in imperial assemblies at this time.

The second testimony is Acts 20, where St. Paul admonishes the bishops with these words: “Attend also to your whole flock, wherein the Holy Spirit has placed you as bishops to rule the Church of God.”

The third is in 1 Peter 5, where St. Peter speaks thus: “I exhort the elders who are among you, as fellow elders and witnesses of the passion of Christ pasture the flock of God which is among you.”

I respond: neither citation proves anything; truly we do not deny that bishops and priests come together that they should feed and rule the Church of God: but our question is on the supreme power of the whole Church; does it reside in the body of ministers, or in some individual man? In these citations, neither Paul, nor Peter touches upon this question, rather they merely admonish bishops, so that they would vigorously exercise their pastoral office for the people.

They already brought from the Fathers that first citation of Cyprian, who so wrote to a cleric: “Such a matter, although I have determined that it considers the counsel and opinion of us all, I do not make bold to claim every matter to merely decide by myself.” 117 I respond: Cyprian did not dare to render judgment, because he had obliged himself of his own will, when he received the episcopacy, that he was to do nothing without the counsel and consensus of his priests and people, as we taught above from the same book. 118 Next, they bring Ambrose, who so said: “Both the synagogue, and afterward the Church had elders, without whose council nothing was done.” 119 I respond, no more from these words can ecclesiastical aristocracy be

proved, than from the existence of a senate and royal counsel in a kingdom that there is no monarchy. Certainly, even Solomon had a body of elders by counsels, 120 and also Xerxes used the counsel of the wise in all affairs; 121 nevertheless, it does not follow that they were not kings. On that account because the old bishops would do nothing without the counsel of priests with respect to what was of advantage and salutary, still, it was not necessary, nor can it be understood from that citation that at the time of Ambrose were this not to be done that the Church would have ceased to exist.

Lastly, they produce Jerome, who said: "By the inspiration of the devil some became zealous in religion, and even said among the people: 'I am of Paul, I Apollo, but I of Cephas,' they were governed by the common counsel of priests of the Church. Yet, afterward, each one, whom they had baptized was reckoning his own not to be of Christ, was decreed in the whole world that one be supposed to be chosen from the priests above the rest, to whom every care of the Church would pertain, and the seeds of schismatics were abolished." 122 Therefore, they argue, in the first period of the Church (which I readily grant was the purest,) aristocracy flourished, and priests were the aristocrats.

I respond: it seems that St. Jerome was in that opinion which reckons that bishops, if it is a question of jurisdiction, are indeed greater priests, but with respect to ecclesiastical law, not divine law; such an opinion is false, and must be refuted in its place. Meanwhile, this in no way advances that aristocracy of priests which Calvin holds to, but considerably strikes against it. For Jerome does not say, that in the first age of the Church an aristocracy of priests flourished, and that it was good government, but little by little afterward through some abuse, monarchy was introduced by wicked men; rather he affirms on the contrary that there was an aristocracy in the beginning, but since it was not advancing well, and thereupon many seditions and schisms arose, by the common counsel of the whole world, it was changed into monarchy.

Nor can there be any doubt whether Jerome would have taken notice that this change came to pass in the times of the apostles, and from those apostolic authors. For in this citation he says, then a change occurred, when it began to be said: "I am of Paul, I of Apollo," as Paul witnesses what happened in his own time in 1 Corinthians I. Next, Jerome says, that James was created the bishop of Jerusalem by the apostles immediately after the passion of the Lord 123 and asserts that St. Mark was the bishop of Alexandria. 124

Add that Jerome does not speak about the universal government of the Church, but only of particular places, when he says, that from the beginning the Churches began to be governed by the common counsel of priests besides, Peter was constituted as head of the whole Church, as the same Jerome teaches by means of eloquent words: "From the twelve one is chosen

that being constituted as the head, the occasion of schism should be abolished.” 125

Chapter IX: Why the Ecclesiastical Government Should Particularly be a Monarchy

The last proposition remains, which affirms that the government of the Church should particularly be a monarchy.

Certainly the first reason whereby the proposition is proved can be deduced from the aforesaid: for if there are three forms of rule, Monarchy Aristocracy, and Democracy, as has already been shown, the government of the Church ought not be either a democracy, or an aristocracy, therefore what else remains but that it might be a monarchy? Thereafter, if monarchy is the best and most useful government, as we taught above, and is certain, that the Church of God was established by the wisest of all rulers, Christ, to govern in the best way: who can deny that his reign ought to be a monarchy?

Yet Calvin resists this and denies it, because for him, if monarchy were in fact the best form of government, it follows that the Church ought to be governed by some individual man, whereas it is certain that its king and monarch is Christ himself. 126

But this is easily refuted, for although Christ is the one and proper king and monarch of the Catholic Church, and he rules and moderates invisibly and spiritually, nevertheless, the Church, which is corporeal and visible, lacks some single visible supreme Judge, by whom controversies arising on religion might be settled, who would contain all lower prefects in office and unity Otherwise, not only the supreme Pontiff, but even bishops, pastors, teachers and ministers, all would be redundant: for Christ is the shepherd, “and bishop of our souls.” 127 He is the single teacher, whom the Father of heaven bids us to hear. 128 He is the one, “who baptizes in the Holy Spirit.” 129

Therefore, in the same way in which Bishops, teachers and the remaining ministers are not redundant, even if Christ does what they do as ministers, so also one who as a supreme Steward manages the care of the whole Church is not abolished from the midst, even though Christ principally manages the same thing.

The second reason is brought in from the similitude which the Church of mortal men has with the Church of immortal angels. St. Gregory the Great also uses this reasoning. 130 Accordingly it is certain, its exemplar is this and just as an idea, as the Apostle appears to indicate 131 and St. Bernard eloquently affirms, where he speaks of the militant Church in the Apocalypse “the new Jerusalem descending from heaven,” he says has been addressed and this is why it was established and conformed to the example of that heavenly city.

Nor has it been less certain and explored among the angels, that besides God the supreme king of all, there is one who is over all others. But from the beginning that one was provided with this dignity, who now is called the devil; as many of the Fathers witness. 132 It can also be deduced from Scripture, in the book of Job, where Behemot, that is, the devil, is called the prince of the ways of the Lord and in Isaiah, 133 where he is compared to Lucifer, that is the greatest and most beautiful of the stars, and at least in regard to appearance, and by common teaching, to which the Scriptures customarily accommodate themselves. Moreover, St. Jerome and Cyril teach that this Lucifer is the devil on this citation, as does Augustine. 134 There is also the book of Ezekiel, where it is said: "Every precious stone is your covering;" 135 and soon nine stones shall be enumerated, whereby it is meant as Gregory expresses, the nine choirs of angels, which stood around this angel just as their prince. 136

But after the fall of the devil, St. Michael is taken to be the prince of all the angels, from ch. XII of the Apocalypse, where it is said: "Michael and his angels." Certainly, what does "Michael and his angels" mean, but Michael and his army? Since it is said the devil and his angels in the same place, we understand all wicked angels to be his subjects, just as soldiers are subject to their general. So also, when it says "Michael and his angels," we ought to understand all good angels acknowledge Michael as their prince, for which reason St. Michael has rightly been placed in ecclesiastical office of paradise and has been named the prince of the heavenly host.

Calvin has nothing other to say than that it is not fitting to speak of heavenly matters except with exceeding temperance, and that no type of Church must be sought than the one that is expressed in the Gospel and in the epistles of the holy Apostles. 137 But one need not speak with temperance, as it were, who says nothing from his own head, but follows the Apostles and the holy Fathers.

The third reason is taken from the Church of the Old Testament. It is certain that the Old testament was a figure of the new, as the Apostle says "All of these things were contained for them in figure." 138 In the time of the Old Testament there was always one who was over all in those matters which pertained to law and religion, especially from the time in which the Hebrews began to be rendered into the form of a people, and be governed by laws, and magistrates, which was after the Exodus out of Egypt. Then indeed Moses ordered the commonwealth of the Jews, he wrote laws for them which he had received from God. He consecrated Aaron the priest and subjected all the priests and levites to one. And thereafter even to the times of Christ the one chief of the priests did not pass away, who governed all the Synagogues of the whole world. That can be easily proved, if it is conceded by our opponents. So speak the Centuriators of Magdeburg: "In the Church of the Judaic people

there was only one high priest by divine law, whom all were compelled to acknowledge, and obey." 139 Calvin affirms precisely the same thing. 140

Therefore, since the Church of that time was a figure of the Church of this time, reason altogether furnishes that, just as the former had one visible ruler besides God the invisible ruler, so also the latter also should have these accordingly there ought to be no perfection found in a figure, which is not found more exactly in the embodiment [of the type].

Now Calvin applies two answers to this argument. The first is, that the one meager Jewish people and all Christians of the whole world are not at all the same thing. He says: "The one people of the Jews ought, beset all about by the idolatrous, to have one high priest, that he should maintain in unity lest they be dragged away by various religions. But to give the Christian people diffused throughout the whole world one head is absolutely absurd." 141 And he adds the similitude: "Just as for this reason the whole world ought not be committed to one man, because one field is cultivated by one man."

To be sure, however, this first answer seems to not really answer the argument but to tie it more and more into a knot. For if the reason why the Jewish people had one head, as Calvin says, was so that it would be contained in unity and not defect to idolatry, those who took possession of it, for a greater reason ought to have one head of the Church of Christians. For there it is more required to have one head, where it is more difficult for unity to be preserved, where there is greater danger lest people be pulled away to different religions: moreover it is more difficult for unity to be preserved in a greater multitude, than in a lesser one, and the danger is greater where there are many enemies of the faith, than when they were fewer. But the Christian people is much greater than ever the Jewish people was, and Christians have many enemies, who are not only besieged by Turks, Tartars, Moors, Jews, and other unbelievers, but they live among innumerable sects of heretics. Therefore, unity is much more difficult to preserve among Christians, and a greater danger threatens from the enemies of religion, than once among the Jews, either that unity be preserved or danger should threaten.

Hence, by that reason whereby Calvin attributes a head to the people of the Jews, he ought to attribute the same or greater to the Christian people. Secondly the similitude on farming also effects nothing, nor do we wish that one man being put in charge should by himself rule the whole Christian world, to the extent that one farmer himself tills one field: but likewise we commit to one supreme shepherd to rule the whole Christian world, that he might rule through many other lesser pastors; just as one rich householder cultivates many fields through many farmers, and one king administers many cities and provinces through many viceroys and governors.

Next, Calvin adds another response, and he says that Aaron bore the figure not of a priest of the new testament, but of Christ; hence, when Christ

completed the figure in himself, there is nothing from it that the Pope can claim for his own.

Indeed, we do not only press the argument with the figure of Aaron, but of the whole Old Testament: since the Old Testament is a figure of the New just as there is monarchic rule in the old, so we say it ought to be in the new. I add besides, even Aaron himself not only bore the figure of Christ, but also of Peter to his successor: just as the sacrifices of the old law signify the sacrifice of the Cross, and at the same time they were a type of that sacrifice, which is now offered in the Church: so the high priest of the old Testament both refers to Christ the high priest, and at the same time was a type of his priesthood which now we see in the Church, moreover this is the same reasoning of sacrifice and priesthood.

Perhaps they will deny that the old sacrifices signify the passion of Christ and at the same time our sacrifice, but St. Augustine teaches this: "The Jews in the victims of cattle, which they offered to God, in many and different modes, just as it was worthy by such a matter, they celebrated a prophecy of the future victim, which Christ offered up. For that reason now Christians carrying out the memory of his sacrifice, celebrate it by the most holy offering and partaking of the body and blood of the Lord." 142 He also says: "The whole thing which the faithful know in the sacrifice of the Eucharist, whose shadows were all the kinds of the first sacrifices . . . The Lord himself commanded a leper to the same sacraments, he sent to the priests that they would offer the sacrifice for him, since it had not yet succeeded them in sacrifice, which he wished to be celebrated afterward in the Church for all those, that he had pre-announced in all of them. 143

There is no other reason why St. Gregory interpreted all the things which are said on garments and decor of Aaron concern his virtues, which are required among Christian pontiffs: 144 and Cyprian expresses, concerning our priests which are called in the Old Testament Aaronic priests, which frequently all other Fathers make, except that because the new priesthood succeeded the old, and the Christian pontiffs the Jewish ones, just as [revelation] succeeded certain types and foreshadowings.

The fourth reason is sought from those similitudes, in which the Church is described in the Scripture: moreover they all show that necessarily there ought to be one head in the Church. The Church is compared with the "arrayed army" in the Canticles, 145 to a human body or a beautiful woman 146 to a Kingdom, a sheepfold, a house, a Boat or the Ark of Noah. 147 Now there is no well-ordered camp where there might not be one general, many tribunes, and many lieutenants, etc. St. Jerome says: "In every powerful army they await the sign of one." 148 How therefore, is the Church a well ordered army, if all the bishops, nay more all the priests are equals, and by equal reasoning one head in the human body?

Perhaps you might say: the Church has its own head, Christ; on tha account we cannot compare the Church with Christ in this place as the members with the head, even the bride with the bridegroom: whereby the Scriptures use the similitude. 149 And certainly if the Church, which is or earth, with Christ being far off, it is not ineptly compared to the bridegroom even while Christ is absent, it ought to have one head, especially with the eloquent declaration of the Canticles, enumerating even the head among its other members, the bridegroom says to the bride: “Thy head is as Carmel.’ 150 and the bride concerning the bridegroom “His head is the best gold.” 151 And truly the bridegroom compares the head of the bride to mount Carmel because even if the High Priest is as vast as a mountain, nevertheless it is nothing other than the land, that is man. The bride compares the head of the spouse to the best gold, because the head of Christ is God.

Now truly, was there ever a kingdom that was not ruled by one? And although the king of the Church is Christ, nevertheless we gather from him that the Church ought to have someone apart from Christ by which it is ruled because kingdoms are always royally administered, that is, through one who is in charge of all. Accordingly, when the king is present he does it through himself; but if he is away, he does it through another, who is called a viceroy often even with the king present, some general vicar is constituted.

Moreover, one sheepfold also requires one shepherd, as is gathered from the Gospel: “There will be one flock and one shepherd.” 152 It must be noted in passing, that “one shepherd” can be understood concerning a secondary pastor, namely Peter and his successors, as Cyprian expresses it. For when the Lord said he has other flocks and other sheep who are not of this fold, he speaks on the Gentile people and the people of the Jews: but he teaches tha he has among the nations many elect, who either are already faithful, or certainly are going to be, and nevertheless they do not pertain to that Judaic people.

If it is a question of the shepherd of God, the people of the Jews and gentiles were always one flock, and one God was their shepherd: nevertheless there was not always one flock and one shepherd with respect to the governance of the human race; nor indeed the gentiles, or those among them pertaining to the Church, ruled by the priest of the Jews. But Christ wished after his arrival, that one flock be made from each people, and all men to be governed by one shepherd. Hence, Cyprian says, while speaking about Novatian, who wished to be made bishop of Rome, when Cornelius had already been created such and sat: “Therefore, the Lord insinuating in us the unity coming from divine authority, so places it and says: ‘I and the Father are one:’ to which unity relegating his Church again he says: ‘And there will be one flock and one shepherd.’ But if one flock, how can he be counted in the flock, who is not in the number of the flock? Or how can the pastor be contained, who while truly remaining pastor, even in the Church of God

succeeds to the presidency by ordination, succeeding nobody, and beginning from himself be foreign and profane?" 153

The similitude of the house and the boat remain, and indeed every house has one Lord and one steward, according to that of Luke's gospel: "Who do you think is the faithful dispenser, and prudent, whom the Lord constituted over his household?" 154 These words are said for Peter, and about Peter himself, since a little before the Lord had said to him: "Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord will discover watching when he will have come.' Peter asked: "O Lord, you speak to us this parable, can it be for all? The Lord responded to Peter: 'Who do you think is the faithful and prudent dispenser? Whom the Lord constituted over his house?" It is just as if he were to say where O Peter I say in the first place, it behooves you therefore to consider what is required in a faithful and prudent steward, whom the Lord will establish over his household.

And a little after, that he might show himself to speak concerning one whom he will place over all that must be preserved, and who shall be subject to the Lord alone, he adds: "What if that servant will have said in his heart 'my Lord delays his arrival,' and began to strike the servants and handmaidens, and to eat and drink and become drunk, the Master of that servant will come on a day he hopes not, and at an hour he does not know and will divide him [from the rest], and will place him on the side of the treacherous." The Lord openly marks out with such words, that he is intending to place one servant over the whole house, who can be judged by himself alone. Chrysostom eloquently teaches that this citation concerns Peter, and his successors, 155 agreeing with Ambrose, or whoever is the author of that commentary on Chapter 3 to Timothy: "The House of God is the Church, whose ruler today is Damasus."

Thereupon, concerning the boat, St. Jerome says "In the boat, there is one captain" and Cyprian a little after taught, that the ark of Noah was a type of the Church, and goes on to prove that Novation could not be made captain of the ark, because Cornelius already had been, and one boat demands one ruler not many.

The Fifth reason is brought in from the first age of Church government. It is certain, therefore, that the Church gathered by Christ began from the first to have a visible and external monarchical rule, not an aristocracy, or a democracy. Indeed, Christ, when he lived on earth, visibly administered it, as its supreme shepherd and rector, as even the Centuriators affirm. 156 Even now the Church ought to have external and visible monarchical rule otherwise what exists today would not be the Church. The same can be said with the city of God. As Aristotle teaches, the City is described by the same species, as long as the same form of the commonwealth remains, 157 that is the same common mode of government, which if it were to be changed, the state would also be changed.

The sixth reason is led in from a like thing. Individual bishops are rightly established in individual places, who are over all the rest of the ministers and pastors of the place. Now Calvin affirms this in these words: “What else will this bring to pass except that individual Churches ought to be given their own bishops?” 158

Again, in individual provinces individual metropolitans are rightly constituted, who govern the bishops of their province; and in greater cities primates or patriarchs, who, as St. Leo says, receive a greater care. 159 Even Calvin has not dared to deny this. 160 Therefore it is equitable that there should be someone that is in charge of the whole Church, and to whom primates and patriarchs should also be subjected. For, if monarchical rule is fitting for one city, one province, one nation, why not even for the whole Church? What reason demands that only parts should be ruled by monarchies while the rest is governed aristocratically?

Thereupon, it is proved by such reasons, there ought to be a bishop in charge of priests, an archbishop in charge of bishops, a patriarch over archbishops; by the same it can be proven, that one supreme bishop ought to be in charge of the patriarchs. Why is one Bishop necessary in individual Churches, except that one city cannot be ruled well unless it is by only one? But the universal Church is also one. In like manner, why is one archbishop required, except that the bishops might be contained in unity, that controversies may be quelled, that they should be called to Synod, and compelled to exercise their office? But on account of the same causes one is required who is in charge of all archbishops and primates.

Now Calvin will respond that the greater primacy of bishops over priests and archbishops over the other bishops is from honor and dignity, not authority and power. 161

Yet, certainly he is deceived or else deceives: for (that I might omit others) when the Apostle says: “Do not receive any accusation against a priest unless it is under two or three witnesses,” 162 he makes a bishop the judge of the priest. Further, one is not a judge without power. Besides, in the Council of Antioch, canon 16 states that if any priest or deacon should be condemned by his own bishop, and being deprived of honor comes to another bishop, he is by no means to be received. Therefore a bishop can condemn a priest and deprive him of honor, because it is certainly of his power and jurisdiction.

Likewise, in the Third Council of Carthage, the Fathers asserted that it was lawful for primates of the bishops from whichever diocese to take up clerics and ordain them bishops where a need will present itself, even against the will of the bishop to whom the cleric was subject. 163 Here do we not obviously see that there is a greater primacy with respect to power over other bishops? Thereupon, St. Leo and St. Gregory openly teach, that not all bishops are equal in power, but some are truly subject to others; and also, St

Leo rightly deduces that the rule of the universal Church pertains to the one See of Peter. 164

The seventh reason can be taken up from the propagation of the Church For, the Church always grew and ought to grow, until the gospel has been preached in the whole world, as is clear from Matthew 24: “This gospel of the kingdom will be preached in the whole world, and then the consummation will come.” But this cannot happen unless there would be one supreme prelate of the Church, to whom the care of preserving and propagating this whole body depends, for no one ought to preach, unless he is sent. “How did they preach unless they were sent?” 165 But to send someone to foreign provinces is not a power of particular bishops; consequently, these have very certain boundaries of their own episcopacy, outside of which they have no right, nor does the care pertain to them, except of guarding the flock assigned to them.

Wherefore, in the history of the Centuriators of Magdeburg, we hardly discover a Church propagated after Apostolic times through others, than through those whom the Roman Pontiffs sent to do the work of God. St Boniface, being sent by Pope Gregory II, converted the Germans. St. Kilian sent by Pope Conon converted the Franks. St. Augustine, being sent by Pope Gregory I, converted the English. Moreover, Pope Innocent constantly affirms, through all of Spain, France, and Africa, Churches were founded through them, whom Peter or his successors sent into this work.

The eighth reason is brought in from the unity of Faith. Indeed it is necessary that all the faithful altogether believe the same thing in matters of Faith: “There is one God, one Faith, one Baptism.” 166 But there can not be one Faith in the Church, if there were not one supreme judge, to whom all were held to acquiesce. The very fact of the dissension of the Lutherans which we see, certainly teaches us sufficiently, even if there were to be no other reason, that they do not have one to whom all are held subject as his judge, thus they have been divided into a thousand sects, but still, they all descend from one Luther: and yet they could not compel one Council, in which all would come together. Rather, even the most obvious reason persuades it. Since there are many equals, it can hardly happen that in obscure and difficult matters in their judgment, any would wish to be placed before the other as a judge.

The Centuriators respond, that the unity of the Faith can be preserved through the association of many Churches, which would help each other, and treat on questions of Faith through letters amongst themselves. 167 But that certainly does not suffice: for to preserve the unity of Faith, counsel is not enough; rule is required: otherwise what would happen if a bishop were erring and refuse to right to the others, or if after he had written he refused to follow their counsel? Was not Illyricus admonished by his colleagues, that he should retract that Manichean error on original sin which he had aroused again from the pits of hell, and was never able to be persuaded, or even patiently hear

them? And if this meeting is so efficacious, why has peace and concord as ye still not been effected between soft and rigid Lutherans?

You will say perhaps: The questions will be put to rest by a genera Council: They will accept everything from a greater part of the Bishops. Or the other hand, a greater part of a general Council can err, if the authority of a supreme shepherd is lacking, as is proved by the experiment of the Armenians and that of the 2nd Council of Ephesus. Add that general Councils can no always be compelled, in the first 300 years no general Council could come about and nevertheless many heresies existed then.

It remains that we should rebut the objections. First Calvin objects "Contention happened among them [the Apostles], over who would seem to be greater? But the Lord said to them: Kings of nations lord it over thei people; but it will not be so with you." On that citation Calvin says: "The Lord taught that their ministry was not like that of a king, in which, one would not excel the rest in order that he might restrain this vain ambition o theirs." 168

I respond: both in this place, and Matthew 20, the Lord does not remove monarchy from the Church, but rather more established it and advised it being different from the civil monarchy of the nations. Firstly, the Lord does not say: "You will not be in charge of others in any way," but rather "Thou will not be in charge *as* they," that means you truly will be in charge, but in a different way than they. Thereupon, is it not clearly added in this citation: "He who is greater among you, let him be as the younger, and he who is leader, (in Greek that is h`gouvmenoj a general and prince), let him be made your servant"? Therefore one was designated by the Lord.

Next, he declared the matter by his own example: "Just as I have no come to be ministered to, but to minister." And "I am in your midst, just as one who ministers." And, nevertheless, he says concerning himself in John's Gospel: "You call me teacher and Lord, and you say rightly: I am indeed.' Just as Christ, therefore, did not lord it over, nor did he take charge even though he was the Lord: so also he wishes one from his own to truly be in charge, but without the lust for domination, such is in the kings of the nations who are mostly tyrants, and command those subject to them like slaves, and refer all things to their own pleasure and glory. Therefore he wants his vicar to be over the Church as a shepherd and a father, who does not seek honor and profit, but the good of his subjects, and that, apart from the rest, he should labor and serve the advantage of all.

Besides the kings of the nations, even those who are not tyrants, so administer their realms, that they might leave behind a proper heir which is in their sons: but prelates of the Church are not so; therefore they are not kings but vicars, not householders, but viceroys. Hence, St. Bernard says: "Why do you not refuse to be in charge and reject lordship? Plainly thus, just as he does not rule well who rules in anxiety: you rule that you should provide, that you

should consult, procure and serve: you are in charge that you should be in charge as a faithful and prudent servant, whom the Lord has established over his family." 169

The Second objection of Calvin is such: "In Ephesians IV the Apostle delineates to us the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy that Christ left behind after his ascension from earth: however, there is no mention of one head, rather the rule of the church passed to many in common. Moreover, the Apostle says himself: 'He gave some as apostles, some as prophets, but others evangelists still others pastors and teachers.' He did not say that first he gave one as supreme pontiff, and others as bishops, pastors, etc." 170

Likewise: "'Be solicitous to preserve unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, one body and one spirit, just as you were called in one hope of your calling, there is one Lord, one Faith,' and he did not say: there is one supreme pontiff to preserve the Church in unity." Again the same thing: "'To each one of us grace was given according to the measure of the gift of Christ.' And he did not say, to one was given the fullness of power and that in turn he governs for Christ, but his portion was given to individual men."

I respond: The supreme pontificate is eloquently posited by the Apostle in these very words: "And he gave some as apostles:" and more clearly in 1 Corinthians XII, where he says: "And he placed in the Church first the apostles, secondly prophets." If ever a supreme ecclesiastical power was not only given to Peter, but even to the other apostles, therefore all could say that of Paul: "My daily urgency is the care of all Churches," 171 but to Peter it was given as an ordinary shepherd, to whom men would succeed others in perpetuity, while to the others it was just as delegated, to whom men did not succeed. There was, therefore, in those first days of the Church, a necessity to disseminate the faith quickly throughout the whole world, that supreme power and freedom had to be conceded to the first preachers and founders of the Church: after the apostles died, however, the apostolic authority remained in the successor of Peter alone; indeed no bishop apart from the Roman Bishop ever had care of all the Churches, and he alone was called the Apostolic Pontiff by all, as well as his Apostolic See, and through the antinomasia and the office of his apostolate. We add here a few testimonies of this affair.

Jerome says: "You who follow the apostles in honor, should also follow them worthily." And again: "I wonder how the bishops received something which the Apostolic See condemned." 172 Also, a great number of French Bishops wrote to Pope Leo, which is number 52 among the epistles to Leo "Let your apostolate give pardon to our lateness." And in the end of the letter "Pray for me, O blessed Lord, to venerate the Apostolic Pope with merit and honor." Likewise: "I venerate and solute your apostolate in the Lord.' Augustine declares: "The first place always flourishes in the Roman Church at the apostolic chair." 173

Thereupon, (that I should omit an infinite number of similar things), the Council of Chalcedon, in an epistle to Pope Leo relates: “And after [having said] all these things, over and against the very one to whom the Lord had consigned care of his vineyard, he enlarged the insanity, that is against thy apostolic sanctity.” Hence, St. Bernard, speaking about all the apostles concerning whom it is said in the Psalms: “You will constitute them princes over all the earth;” 174 he says to Pope Eugene: “You succeeded them in inheritance, so You, o heir, and inheritance of the world.” 175 And below this very citation: “And he himself gave some as apostles,” he understands concerning the pontifical authority.”

This response can also be made: The Apostle does not delineate the hierarchy of the Church in this citation, rather he merely enumerates the different gifts which are in the Church. Hence, first he places *Apostles*, that is those who were first sent by God. Secondly *Prophets*, that is, those who predict the future, as the fathers Chrysostom, Oecumenius and Theophylactus put it. Thirdly, *Evangelists*, that is, those who wrote the Gospels, as the same fathers show. Lastly, *Pastors and teachers*, and by that one saying he signified, albeit confusedly, the whole hierarchy of ministers of the Church Also, he adds in 1 Corinthians the types of tongues, duties and other things which are not ecclesiastical ministries, but charisms of the Holy Spirit.

Next, to the objection on one body, one spirit, one Faith, one God, in which one Pope is not enumerated, I respond: one pope is taken up in those words *one body and one spirit*: as indeed the unity of the members is preserved in the natural body, that all obey the head, so also then in the Church unity is preserved when all obey the one.

And although the head of the whole Church is Christ, nevertheless that he is away from the Church militant with respect to his visible presence, some one man is necessarily considered in the place of Christ, that he may contain this visible Church in unity. This is why Optatus of Miletus calls Peter the head, and places unity of the Church in him, so that all adhere with that very head. John Chrysostom also speaks thus on the Church: “whose pastor and head is a fisherman and of low birth.” 176

Now I respond to that argument on the fullness of power: the supreme pontiff, if he might be compared with Christ, does not have a fullness of power, but only some portion, according to the measure of the donation of Christ. Therefore Christ rules all the Church, which is in heaven, in purgatory and on earth, and what was from the beginning of the world, and will be even to the end: and besides he can make laws from his own will, establish sacraments, and give grace, even without the sacraments.

But the Pope only rules that part of the Church which is on earth, while he lives, nor can he change the laws of Christ, or establish sacraments, or remit sins outside of the sacrament [of penance]. Nevertheless, if the supreme Pontiff is compared with the other bishops, then he is rightly said to have the

fullness of power, because they have definite regions over which they are in charge; even their power is defined. The Pope, on the other hand, has been pu over the whole Christian world, and he has the whole and full power, which Christ left behind for the utility of the Church on earth.

The third objection is of Calvin, where he uses this argument: “Christ is the head of the Church, as we read in Ephesians IV, therefore one does an injury to Christ to call another the head.”

I respond: No injury is made to Christ for the very reason that the Pope may be the head of the Church, rather more his glory is increased by it. For we do not assert that the Pope is head of the Church with Christ, but under Christ, as his minister and vicar: it does no injury to the king, if a viceroy should be called the head of the kingdom under the king, why it even increases his glory, therefore all who hear the viceroy is the head of the kingdom under the king, soon they think that the king is the head in a more noble manner.

Add what Christ himself says concerning himself in the Scripture: “I am the light of the world,” nevertheless he does himself no injury. And the Apostle who said: “No man can place any other foundation apart from that which has been placed, which is Christ,” 177 also said “you are built on the foundation of apostles and prophets,” even though Christ may be the pastor and bishop of our souls, and the apostle of our confession, and a prophetic man, and doctor of justice, nevertheless Paul did him no injury when he wrote in Ephesians IV, that in the Church there are apostles, prophets, pastors and teachers. Thereupon, what name is there more august than that of God? Nevertheless men are more than once called Gods in Scripture without any injury to the true God. “I have said, ye are Gods.” 178 Why indeed will there be an injury to Christ the head of the Church if another might be said to be the head under him?

But they say, there was never any Church called the body of Peter, or of the Pope, but of Christ. I respond, the cause of the matter is, that Christ alone should be the principle and perpetual head of the whole Church; that the kingdom is not said to be of a viceroy, but of a king, and the house is not of a steward, but of the Lord: thus the Church is not the body of Peter or the Pope who only for a time, and in place of another governs it, but of Christ, who is the proper authority, and perpetually rules it.

Besides, when the Church is called the body of Christ, that term “of Christ” can suitably be referred not just to Christ as head, but to the same Christ as a hypostasis of his body, just the same when we say, the body of Peter is in that place, of Paul in that place, we do not mean Peter or Paul are bodies, but persons whose bodies these are. Therefore Christ not only is the head of the Church, but he, as a certain great body constituted from many and different members. St. Augustine notes because of the very thing which the Apostle says in 1 Corinthians: “Just as indeed there is one body that has many

members, although the members are many, the body is truly one;" he does no add, "so even the body of Christ", but "so even Christ." Now, therefore, the Church is the body of Christ, not of Peter, because Christ, just as all the members endure the hypostasis of this body, and all work in all, it sees through the eye, hears through the ears, he is indeed the one who teaches through a teacher, baptizes through a minister, does all things through all certainly that is not asserted in Peter, nor in any other man.

The fourth objection is of Theodore Beza, who argues that the burden o ruling the whole charge can be the duty of God alone; 179 hence, it is impossible for us to affirm the argument when we commit the rule of the whole Church to the supreme Pontiff. Luther says the same thing in his work *de Potestate Papae*, and a little book by the same name was written up during the Schmalkaldic synod agreeing with Luther's opinion.

I respond: It cannot be done without a miracle that one man alone could rule the whole Church in his own person, and there is no Catholic that teaches this: yet that one man might see to it through many ministers and shepherds subject to himself is not only possible, but we reckon even useful and advantageous. For, in the first place, did not the Apostle say that he himself had "care of every Church?" 180 He does not only speak about all the Churches which he had planted, but simply about all. For Chrysostom writes on this citation, that Paul took care of every Church in the world, and it can be proved from the epistles to the Romans, Colossians and Hebrews, where he writes to them whom he had not preached, and whom, nevertheless, he thought pertain to his care.

And although the apostles distributed among themselves those parts in which they would preach the word of the Lord with a peculiar zeal nevertheless they did not confine their care to the boundaries of this or that province, rather each one managed the concern of the whole Church, as if that care pertained to themselves alone.

Next, many secular princes have from God a very large kingdom, and certainly greater than the whole Christian world might be, which would never have been given by God unless they could administer it. We have the examples in Nebuchadnezzar, concerning whom we read in Daniel: "Thou art a king of kings, and the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, and strength, and power, and glory: And all places wherein the children of men and the beasts of the field do dwell." 181 Likewise we read in Isaiah about Cyrus: "Thus saith the Lord to my anointed Cyrus, whose right hand I have taken hold of, to subdue nations before his face, and to turn the backs of kings, etc." 182

How great was this kingdom, is obvious from the first Chapter of Esther where the king of Persia, Xerxes, is said to have ruled over one hundred twenty seven provinces from India even to Ethiopia. On Augustus we read in Luke: "An edict went out from Caesar Augustus, that the whole world should

be marked out." 183 And certainly the world was never more happily administered, than in the times of Augustus. That kingdom had been prepared by God, that the Gospel should more easily spread through the whole world as Eusebius and Pope Leo prove. 184

Therefore, since God willed almost the whole world to obey the rule of one man: why could he not also commend the universal Church to the prudence and care of one man? Particularly since ecclesiastical governance may prove easier than political and those kings did not have any other assistance apart from human prudence and the general providence of God whereas our Pontiff has supernatural light of Faith, the sacred Scriptures heavenly sacraments and the particular assistance of the divine Spirit.

Add, that by far, democracy or aristocracy in the Church is far more difficult than monarchy. For democracy in the Church is not such as it was for the Romans or Athenians, where men ruled one city alone, which is not difficult to come together in as one, and they could establish the vote for many. In the Church, however, if there were to be popular government, every Christian in the whole world would have the right to vote; but who could gather all Christians to decide something for the whole Church?

For equal reasoning aristocracy would not be such in the Church as it is now for the Venetians, in which only one elite class rules the city, which can easily be gathered and determine what they wish: but such as it is it never was the type of thing in which every magistracy of the whole world, that is, every bishop and priest of the whole Christian world, would have equal right of governance, that even to gather them would either be very difficult or impossible without a miracle.

The fifth objection is from a little book, which the Lutherans published at the Smalkaldic synod on the Primacy of the Pope. They say, that Paul equalizes all ministers, and teaches that the Church is over all ministers when he says: "All are yours, whether Paul, or Apollo, or Cephas." 185

I respond: I am not so acute that I perceive the force of this argument For, if on that account the ministers are equalized, because they are numbered together when they are named, either Paul, or Apollo, or Cephas, also all generals, consuls, and emperors will also be equal, for Chrysostom says: "If any general, if a consul, if he who is crowned with a diadem should go out unworthily, restrain and repress him." 186 And does it not follow, that the Church is above the ministers in authority and power, because they are established on account of the utility of the Church? Otherwise, what Paul meant by those words "All are yours" would mean both boys would rule their tutors and the people would excel kings in authority, but tutors are so because of boys, and kings for the people, not the other way around.

The sixth objection is from the same book: "Christ sent all the apostles equally, as he says to them in John "I send you," therefore no one is in charge of the rest.

I respond: By those words one is not put in charge of the others, but we do not lack other citations whereby one man is put in charge. Certainly in John XXI it is said to only one man: “Feed my sheep.”

Lastly, others object: If the world ought to be governed by one man in matters which pertain to religion, it would be useful that it would be ruled by one in those matters which consider to the political order: but this has never happened nor is it expedient, as Augustine teaches: “With respect to human affairs all realms should be small and rejoice in the peace of small communities.” 187

I respond: The purpose of political rule and ecclesiastical rule are not the same thing. Accordingly, the world ought not necessarily be one kingdom hence, it does not necessarily demand one who is in charge of all: but the whole Church is one kingdom, one city, one house, and therefore ought to be ruled by one. That is the cause of this difference, that it is not necessarily required for the preservation of political realms, that every province should keep the same laws, and the same rites: they can indeed use laws and institutions for the variety and diversity of places and persons, and for that reason one man is not required, who would contain all in unity. Yet, it is necessary for the preservation of the Church, that all should come together in the same faith, in the same sacraments, in the same divinely handed down precepts, which can not rightly be done unless they are one people, and contained by one in unity.

On the other hand, the question can be taken up whether it might be expedient that all provinces of the world are governed by one supreme king in political matters, although it may not be necessary. Nevertheless, it seems to me altogether expedient, if it could be attained by one without injustice and wars, especially if this supreme monarchy would have under it not vicars and viceroys, but true princes, just as the supreme pontiff has bishops under him.

Nevertheless, since it does not seem that such a monarchy could come into being except by applying great force and many terrible wars; then St Augustine speaks rightly; maybe human affairs would be happier if there were small kingdoms with happy peaceful communities, than if every sort of king were to contend through lawful and unlawful means to extend and propagate their kingdom. Add to that, what St. Augustine proves is about small kingdoms, but he does not deny that it would be useful, if some one supreme ruler were over these very small kings; it seems he rather more affirms that when he says small kingdoms ought to be in the happy peace of small communities, just in the same way as there are many houses in a city therefore it is certain that there is one man whom every house obeys, although each would have its own head of house.

Chapter X: A Third Question is Proposed, and the Monarchy of Peter is Proved from the Citation of the Gospel According to Matthew, Chapter XVI

Hitherto it has been explicated and, unless I am mistaken, sufficiently and diligently proven, that monarchy is the best of all governments, and a rule of this sort ought to be in the Church of Christ. Now the third question remains: Was Peter the apostle constituted head of the whole Church and its prince in place of Christ by Christ himself?

All the heretics whom we have cited from the beginning skillfully deny this. On the other hand, the Catholics whom we have cited, affirm it. Really, it is not a simple error, but a pernicious heresy, to deny that the primacy of Peter was established by Christ. We shall undertake to confirm it by a threefold reasoning and manner. First, from two citations of the Gospel, in one of which it is promised, in the other it is shown. Then from the many privileges and prerogatives of St. Peter. Lastly, from the clear testimony of the Greek and Latin Fathers.

Now to the first. We shall begin with the first citation of Matthew XVI where we read thus: “You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and I will give to you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever you bind on earth will be bound even in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed even in heaven.” 188 The plain and obvious sense of these words is, as we shall understand, a promise to Peter of the supremacy of the whole Church under two metaphors. The first metaphor is the foundation and building: indeed there is a foundation in a building, that is a head in the body, a ruler in a city, a king in a kingdom, a head of house in a house. The second is that of the keys, one to whom the keys of the city are handed over, is established as a king or certainly the ruler of the city, who may wish to admit some, and exclude others.

But the heretics distort this whole citation in wondrous manners, for they neither wish Peter to be understood through the rock nor concede keys as promises to Peter. Likewise they are able to persuade themselves that the metaphors of the foundation and the keys do not mean supreme ecclesiastical power.

Therefore, four questions must be explained to us. First: whether Peter might be that rock upon which the Church shall be founded. Second: whether that foundation might be the ruler of the whole Church. Third: whether Peter might be the one to whom the keys are given. Fourth: whether the full power to govern the Church should be understood through the keys.

On the first question there are four opinions. The first is the commor teaching of Catholics, that the rock is Peter, that is, the person which Peter is called: nevertheless not as a particular person, but as the shepherd and head o the Church. The second on this citation is of Erasmus, that every faithful mar is this rock. The third is of Calvin, that Christ is that rock. 189 The fourth is o Luther and the Centuriators, that faith or the confession of faith is the rock concerning which the Lord spoke in this place. 190

The first opinion, which is most true, in the first place is obviously deduce rom the text itself. For that pronoun, *this [hanc]*, when it is said "And upor his rock," proves some rock, upon which the Lord spoke of a little before Next, the Lord called Peter the rock; indeed he spoke Aramaic, and in the Aramaic tongue Peter is called Cephas, as we have it in John I:26. Moreover Cephas means rock, as Jerome teaches, 191 and the matter is most certain: fo n every place in the Hebrew text it is elS [Selah], 192 that is, *rock*, in Aramaic t is *Cepha*; Hence, the Hebrew word apK, [Kepha] means stone or boulder where we read in Jeremiah "They went up to the boulders," in Hebrew that is vle mypkn [Nakapiym elo].

Therefore the Lord said: "You are Cepha, and on this "Cepha": or in Latin "*Tu es petra, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam;*" from which i follows, that the pronoun *hanc* can not refer to anything but Peter who in this place was called "rock" [petra].

But then why did the Latin Translator not put it, "*Tu es petra, et super hanc petram*"? Because it should follow the Greek codex: therefore it does no render it literally from Aramaic, rather from the Greek in which we read: su ei=j Petroj(kai. evpi, tau,th| th|/ pevtra| eivkodomhvsw th.n evkklhsi,an mou Why doesn't the Greek use su. ei=j pe,tra kai. evpi. tau,th pe,tra|? The reason is because among the Greeks both pevtroj and pevtra mean a stone; it has been seen as more agreeable to the interpreter to render the name for a man in the masculine rather than in the feminine. Thus, to explain the metaphor, he did no wish to say in the second place, evpi. tw/ pe,trw|(which would have been ambiguous, but evpi. th| pe,tra|, which means nothing other than the rock. 193

The consensus of the whole Church agrees, both of the Greek and Latin Fathers. The whole Council of Chalcedon in its third act, that was made up o 630 Fathers, appeal to Peter as the rock and the foundation of the Catholic Church. Likewise, today every mouth sings in the Church the verses of St Ambrose which have been sung for 1200 years in a hymn of praises of the Lord's day: *Hoc ipsa petra Ecclesiae canente culpam diluit*. Moreover, St Augustine witnesses in his time the beginning sung from the verses of St Ambrose, that Peter is the rock upon which the Lord built the Church. 194

Besides, from the Greek Fathers Origen says: "Look to that grea foundation of the Church and most solid rock, upon which Christ founded the

Church, why else would the Lord say ‘man of little faith, why did you doubt?’’ [195]

St. Athanasius wrote both in his name and in that of the Synod of Alexandria: “You are Peter, and upon your foundation the pillars of the Church that is the bishops, are strengthened.” Athanasius elegantly makes Peter the foundation, upon which the Bishops rest and upon which as pillars, the whole building has been placed.

St. Basil says: “Peter, on account of the excellence of faith has received the building of the Church in his person.” [196] Gregory Nazianzen says: “Peter is called the rock, and he holds the foundations of the faith believed by the Church.” [197] Epiphanius says: “The Lord established Peter as the first of the apostles, the strong rock, upon which the Church of God was built.” [198]

St. John Chrysostom notes: “The Lord said, ‘you are Peter, and I will build my Church upon you.’” [199] Again: “But why is Peter the foundation of the Church? He is a vehement lover of Christ; he, unlearned in discourse, is the victor over orators, he inexperienced, who stops up the mouth of philosophers he who was not otherwise trained in Greek wisdom, dissolved it like a spider’s web; he who sent a seine into the sea, and made a catch of the whole world?’ [200] Cyril teaches: “Simon is not now his name, but Peter, he predicted signifying fittingly by that word that in him, just as a rock and the strongest stone, the Lord was going to build his Church.” [201]

Psellus: “His legs just as marble pillars: through the legs, understand that Peter is the prince of the apostles, upon whom the Lord in the Gospel promised he was going to build his Church.” [202] The commentary of Psellus is contained in the canticles of Theodoret. Theophylactus in ch. 22 of Luke says: “After me [Christ], you are the rock of the Church, and the foundation.” Euthymius says ‘I place you as a foundation of believers, I will build my Church upon you.”

From the Latins, we begin with Tertullian in his work *De Praescriptionis* ‘Was anything hidden from Peter, the one said to be the rock upon which the Church must be built?” [203] St. Cyprian: “Peter, whom the Lord chose first and upon whom he built his Church...” [204] he repeats similar things in passing.

Hillary declares: “O happy foundation of the Church in the solemn vow of a new name! Its worthy building on the rock, which annuls the laws of hell. O happy porter of heaven!” [205] Still, here Erasmus makes the notation in the margin: “Faith is the foundation of the Church,” as if the name of “Faith’ (Fidei) were changed, and not Simon, and the faith were the happy porter of heaven. Why indeed did Hilary not say “faith” in this place? Ambrose says

‘At length, for the solidity of devotion he is called the rock of the Church, jus
as the Lord said: ‘You are Peter,’ etc. Therefore the Rock is called by him tha
first placed the foundations of faith in actions, and the immovable rock of the
Christian work should contain the framework and the building.” 206

Jerome adds in his commentary on Matthew: “According to the metapho
of the rock, it is rightly said to him: ‘I will build my Church upon you.’” And
he also says, speaking on the See of Peter: “Upon that rock, I know the Church
was built.” 207

Augustine also teaches: “Count the priests even from the very seat of Peter
hat is the rock which the proud gates of hell do not conquer.” 208 Note how
both Jerome and Augustine not only call the see of Peter the rock, but that upon
which the Church is founded, and against which the gates of hell will no
prevail, because Peter is the rock, not as a particular man, but as a pontiff
Likewise Augustine says: “Therefore the Lord named Peter as the foundation of
he Church; and therefore the Church adorns this worthy foundation, upon
which the heights of the ecclesiastical edifice rise.” 209

Maximus the confessor says: “Through Christ, Peter was made the rock
when the Lord said to him: ‘You are Peter, and upon this rock, etc.’” 210
Paulinus in his letter to Severus: “The rock is Christ, but he also did not refuse
favor of this word to his disciple, to whom he said: ‘upon this rock’, etc.”

Pope St. Leo: “The disposition of truth remains and Blessed Peter
persevering in the fortitude received of the rock, did not relinquish the
government of the Church which he had received. Thus, he was appointed apart
from the rest, that while the rock is spoken of, while the foundation is
pronounced, while he is constituted the porter of the kingdom of heaven; that
here should be such society with Christ, through the very mysteries we recall
he title.” 211 St. Gregory: “Who does not know that the holy Church is
strengthened by the solidity of the prince of the apostles?” 212

From all this it appears how great is the impudence of the heretics. Indeed
Calvin says in the place we already cited, that he refuses to bring in the Fathers
not because he can’t, but because he refuses to disturb the readers by disputing
such a clear matter. Moreover, Erasmus marvels at this citation of Matthew
here have been some who would distort this reference to the Roman Church
and strive to excuse Cyprian and Jerome, because they said upon Peter the
Church was founded, as if this were some unheard of paradox; nevertheless
since all the Fathers teach it, and many more recent theologians as well as
canonists, and indeed the ancient pontiffs, Clement, Anacletus, Marcellus, Pius

Julius and others, whom we have omitted both for the sake of brevity, and because our adversaries do not receive them.

Now we shall examine the second opinion which is of Erasmus. He recommends that all the faithful should be understood by the name of Peter from what Origen says on this citation: “Peter is everyone who is an imitator of Christ and upon every rock of this sort the Church of God shall be built Therefore, the Church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, consists in individuals who have been perfected, who have in themselves the association of words and works, and the senses of all things.” 213

But Origen expresses this citation allegorically, not literally as Erasmus dreams up: for Origen expressed this citation literally in what was quoted above. Indeed, this citation could not be understood as concerning all the faithful if it were read literally. It is obvious because of the fact that the Lord had that he should indicate that he was speaking to Peter alone, described him in different ways. He called him Simon which was the name his parents had given him, and added the name of his father, calling him son of Jonah, or John, in order to distinguish him from Simon the brother of Jude. He says: “Blessed are you, Simon bar Jonah,” then he adds the name of Peter, which he had given him. Besides he used pronouns distinguishing a certain person, saying: “I say to you, that you are Peter, etc.” Therefore, if it were permitted to still assert that there nothing peculiar was conferred upon Peter, or a promise which was not made to any others, certainly every place of Scripture could be twisted.

Hence, if all the faithful are this rock, upon which the Church shall be founded; all will be a foundation. If all are the foundation, where will the walls and roof of this building be? In what organ, if the whole body is the eye, will it here? Where are the remaining members? 214 Add the fact that the same Erasmus considered it to be absurd that the Church is built upon the man Peter but if that is so, how will it be built upon individual faithful? Aren’t they men also?

Now the third explanation is of Calvin who, although he speaks more obscurely, nevertheless appears to understand Christ as the rock. And indeed it is an important matter to consider upon which rock the Church will be built since the Apostle says: “No man can place another foundation, apart from that which was lain, which is Christ Jesus.” 215

Augustine also agrees, who says: “Upon this rock, which you confessed, I will build my Church.” 216 Likewise in the *Retractions* he had retracted what he had said elsewhere, that upon Peter the Church was built and teaches rather

hat it ought to be said to have been founded on Christ, 217 and the citatior which we are treating must be understood thus.

Nobody doubts whether Christ should be the rock, and the first foundatior of the Church, and it is gathered in some way even from this citation: for i Peter is the foundation of the Church in place of Christ, Christ is much more he foundation. But by no means is it a more proper sense, and I should say hat the Church is to be built upon Peter is immediate and literal: The proper arguments prove the reasons hitherto presented.

Firstly, the pronoun *this* (*hanc*) cannot refer to Christ as the rock, but to Peter as the rock; moreover, it ought to be referred to something nearby, not to something remote: next it was not said to Christ, but to Peter: "You are Cepha," hat is *rock*. Next, although Christ can be called the rock, nevertheless in this place he was not called rock by Peter's confession, rather Christ, Son of the iving God. Moreover, the pronoun "*this*" ought to be referred to the one being called "rock"not to the one who is not called by this noun. Likewise if it were o refer to Christ, to what end was it said: "I say to you that you are Peter?" Obviously it is in vain, unless it follows that it refers to Peter. Finally, if it were o refer to Christ, the Lord would not have said "I will build" but "I am building my Church:" for he had already built up the apostles and many disciples in himself. He says "I will build," because he had not yet constituted Peter the foundation, rather he was going to do that after his resurrection.

Now I address the argument of Calvin: St. Paul speaks not on any particular person, but on the primary foundation, otherwise he would oppose himself when he says, "You are built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets." 218 Likewise, he would also be opposed to John, who describes welve foundations in the building of the Church, and explains that the apostles are meant through these foundations. 219

Now I speak to that objection made from Augustine. In the first place he does not condemn our teaching, but only something places before it. Thus he speaks in the *Retractions*: "I said in a certain place concerning the apostle Peter, that on him, just as on the rock, the Church was founded, which sense is also sung by the lips of many in the verses of St. Ambrose, where he says of he cock crowing: 'This, while the very rock of the Church sings, purges his crime.' Yet I know that I had beforehand most wisely expressed thus, that upon his Peter who confessed him should be understood; but it was not said to him you are rock' but 'you are Peter:' the rock was Christ. Of these two teachings et the reader choose which one is more probable." 220 Thus Augustine

Therefore Augustine did not think it a blasphemy, as Calvin did, to assert tha he Church was built on Peter.

I further add, that Augustine was deceived only by his ignorance of the Hebrew tongue. For his argument (as he shows in this place) is that it was no said "You are rock" but "You are Peter." Therefore he thought the rock, upon which the Church should be built, was not Peter, because he believed *Cepha* does not signify rock, but something derived from rock (*petra*) such as *petrinum* or *petrejum*, 221 just as "Christian" does not mean Christ, bu something derived from Christ so the Church must be built upon the rock, no upon something *petrinum* or *petrejum*. Augustine reckoned that Peter is no understood by that rock. Yet, if he had noticed that *Cepha* means nothing othe than rock, and the Lord said "You are rock, and upon this rock: he would no have doubted the truth of our opinion.

The fourth opinion remains, which is common among nearly all Lutherans and at first glance appears to be confirmed by the testimony of the Fathers Accordingly Hillary teaches: "The building of the Church is the rock o confession . . . This faith of the Church is the foundation: through this faith the gates of hell are weak against it: this faith of the kingdom of heaven holds the keys." 222 St. Ambrose says: "The foundation of the Church is faith." 223 St John Chrysostom: "Upon this rock I will build my Church, that is faith and confession." 224 Likewise Cyril, explaining this citation: "I reckon he called he rock is nothing other than unshaken and firm faith of the disciple." 225

Illyricus adds: "If it is founded upon Peter, and rather not upon the confession of Faith of the Church, then immediately it would have fallen. For Peter soon ran at the point of the Lord's passion, and he fell. Moreover in the same Chapter of St. Matthew, it is said to him: 'Get behind me Satan, you are a scandal to me, because you do not have a sense of what is of God.' Thereupon he denied Christ a third time, and not without a great curse."

I respond: Faith, or confession, is considered in two ways. In one way it absolutely followed itself, and without any relation to the person of Peter: in the second way with relation to Peter. In the first way it appears our adversaries would have it that faith is the foundation of the Church, but certainly they are deceived. If it were so, why didn't the Lord say, instead of: "I will build upon his rock," "I am building," or "I have built my Church"? Many had already believed that he was the son of the living God, as early as the prophets, the Blessed Virgin, Simeon, Zachariah, John the Baptist, the apostles and remaining disciples.

Next, faith taken up absolutely, is rightly called the foundation o ustification and of all strength, as Augustine says: “The house of God i ounded by belief, erected by hope, perfected by love.” 226 But the foundatio f the Church is not properly faith. There ought to be a foundation of the sam kind, as well as the rest of the building. The Church is a congregation of men ust as of living stones, 227 therefore the stone, which is the foundation, ough o be also some man, not some virtue.

Last, that pronoun *this* most clearly showed that through the rock faith annot be understood absolutely: for it is referred more closely to the on amed rock: next, it had been said to Simon: “You are rock,” not to faith herefore it behooves us to accept faith in the second way is the foundation, an o say not any faith you please, but the faith of Peter, and not of Peter as a rivate man, but as the shepherd of the Church. It coincides with that, which w aid in this regard, that Peter is the foundation.

Therefore the faith of Peter is the foundation of the Church for a two-fol easoning. First, that on account of the merit of his faith Peter attained that h hould be the foundation of the Church, as Jerome, Hilary, Chrysostom an thers show on this place. Secondly, because Peter is chiefly in the very matte he foundation of the Church, that since his faith cannot fail, he ought t onfirm and hold up all the others in faith. Thus, the Lord said to him: “I hav rayed for thee, that thy faith should not fail, and when thou hast converte trengthen thy brethren.” 228

Therefore, by reasoning of his indefectible faith, Peter should be th irmest rock, sustaining the whole Church; it is the same thing to say “upo Peter” and “upon his faith” the Church was founded, and the Fathers cite peak in this manner. For St. Hilary, after he had said the faith of Peter is th oundation of the Church, and receives the keys of the kingdom, he adds o Peter himself: “He merited a preeminent place by the confession of his blesse Faith,” and a little after: “Hence, he holds the keys of the kingdom of heaven ence, his earthly judgments are heavenly, etc.” 229

Therefore, as he had said, “faith is the foundation and holds the keys,” s ow he says Peter by reason of his faith merited a preeminent place, that is, tha e should be the head, or foundation, and should hold the keys. And he says th ame thing most beautifully about Peter: “O happy foundation of the Church b he solemn decree of a new name.” 230

For equal reasoning St. Ambrose, where he says the faith of Peter is th oundation of the Church, he notes the same thing: “He did not refuse to hi

lisciple the favor of this word, that he should also be Peter, who as the rock should have solidity of steadfastness and firmness of faith." 231

Chrysostom explaining in both citations, why it is that the Church is built upon the confession of Peter, introduces the Lord speaking thus: I will build my Church upon you."

Next, Cyril also says the foundation is not any faith, but that unconquerable and most firm faith of St. Peter; and he writes that Peter himself is the rock upon which the Church is founded. 232

Now I respond to the objection of Illyricus, firstly with the commentary of Jerome for this chapter: when Peter was told: "Get behind me Satan" and when he denied Christ, he was not yet the foundation. Therefore the place Christ promised him, he had intended to give to him after the resurrection. Add, that Peter did not err on the faith, but was merely ignorant of something, when he was told, "Get behind me Satan," and he was lacking in charity, not in faith when he denied Christ. That we will teach in its proper place in the treatise on the Church.

Chapter XI: Why the Church is Built upon the Rock in Matthew XVI

Another difficulty follows that must be explained, what it might be for the Church to be built upon a rock. Certainly our adversaries labor a little on this for when they deny that Peter is the foundation of the Church, they reckon to refer it to a little thing, which the building should signify.

On the other hand, Catholics teach that what is meant by this metaphor is that the government of the whole Church was consigned to Peter, and particularly concerning faith. Therefore this is proper to the foundational rock to rule and hold up the whole building. The Fathers also explain it in this way Chrysostom, explaining this passage in Matthew, says: "He constituted him pastor of the Church." 233 And below that: "The Father put Jeremiah in charge of one nation, while Christ put Peter in charge of the whole world." Ambrose says: "The rock is called Peter just as an immovable boulder that it should contain the unified structure of the whole Christian work." 234 St. Gregory says: "It is proven to everyone who knows the Gospel that care of the whole Church was consigned to St. Peter, prince of all apostles by the Lord's voice By all means it was said to him: 'You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.'" 235

Yet two arguments are usually objected against this. The first is that of Luther, who says: "that order does not avail: namely that the Church is built upon Peter; therefore Peter is the ruler of the Church. Just the same, it is rightly said that faith is built upon the Church, and nevertheless it does not follow that therefore, faith is the ruler of the Church." 236

I respond: For that very reason we said, the Church cannot properly be said to be built upon faith. Next, although it might be said properly, it would never conclude the argument: for all things must be understood as accommodated to their natures. Therefore, if one were to say the Church is built upon faith: the sense ought to be that the Church is understood to depend upon faith as by a principle of justification, and by a certain gift, without which she could not be the spouse of Christ. Furthermore, if one were to say the Church is built upon Peter, the sense will be that the Church depends upon Peter as a ruler: therefore such is the dependency of one man upon another.

The second argument is more difficult. Just as Peter is called the foundation of the Church in this citation, so all the apostles are called

foundations. “His foundations in the holy mountains,” 237 that is, as St Augustine shows, in the apostles and prophets. Likewise in the Apocalypse we read: “And the wall of the city, having twelve foundations, and in them the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.” 238 Also in Ephesians ‘Built up on the foundation of the apostles and prophets.” 239 Alluding to such words, St. Jerome says: “But you say, the Church is founded upon Peter although that is done in another place upon all the apostles, and equally upon them the strength of the Church is solidified.” 240 Therefore nothing near proper and particular was given to Peter.

I respond: all the apostles were foundations in three ways, nevertheless without any prejudice to Peter. In the first way, because they first founded the Church everywhere, as Peter did not convert the whole world to the faith, but Peter led some regions to Christ; some regions, James others, and still the rest others. This is why St. Paul says: “Thus I preached, not where Christ was named, less I would build on someone else’s foundation.” 241 And again: “As a wise architect I placed a foundation, but another builds upon it.” 242 Also in this manner the apostles are equally foundations: that which is signified we believe.

The second way apostles and prophets are said to be foundations of the Church, by reason of doctrine revealed by God. Accordingly, the faith of the Church rests upon revelation, which the apostles and prophets had from God Moreover, new articles are not always revealed to the Church, rather the Church assents in that doctrine, which the apostles and prophets learned from the Lord, as well as by preaching, or letters they entrusted to posterity. We are also built up by this reason, as the apostle says to the Churches: “upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.” Peter is not greater than the rest in those two, but as Jerome says, the strength of the Church is solidified equally in all.

All the apostles are called foundations in the third mode by reason of government. All were heads, rulers and shepherds of the whole Church, but not in the same way as Peter: they had supreme and full power as apostles or legates, but Peter as an ordinary pastor: thereafter they so had the fullness of power that nevertheless Peter should still be their head, and they depended upon him, not the other way around.

This is what is promised to Peter, in Matthew XVI, since it is said to him alone in the presence of the others: “Upon this rock I will build my Church.” In what Jerome teaches apart from the others cited above in his work against

Jovinian, he explains why the Church was built upon Peter: “Although the strength of the Church is solidified equally upon all the apostles, nevertheless in addition one was chosen among the twelve as the head, constituted so that the occasion of schism should be removed.”

Chapter XII: To Whom it is Said: To You I Give the Keys in Matthew XVI

A third uncertainty is over the person to whom it is said: “To you I wil give the keys.” Although the sense of these words appears most obvious tc Catholics, nevertheless our adversaries so distort these words that they should now seem very obscure. Who, I ask, simply reading: “Blessed are you, Simor bar Jonah,” and immediately after: “I will give you the keys,” would not say ‘the keys were promised to the son of Jonah?”

Just the same, Luther, 243 Calvin 244 and their followers, as well as the Centuriators, 245 the Smalkaldic council and all the other heretics of this time would have it that there is nothing specific promised to Peter the son of Jonah Rather, whatever is said there pertains to the whole Church, the person of which Church Peter managed at that time.

Yet it must be noticed, Peter could manage the person of the Church in two ways, historically and parabolically. Certainly historically, he managed the person of another, which signifies in some matter truly conducted by itself a matter which must be managed by another, and he merely represents it: thus Abraham truly had two sons: He signified God, who was going to have two peoples, as the Apostle explains in Galatians. Thus Martha was anxious abou he frequent service, and Mary sitting apart at the feet of the Lord, show two ives, of which one is action, the other is contemplation.

Parabolically, it is signified through one thing, when truly no deed is pu forth, but something similar is exercised to mean something else: how in the gospel, the one who sows good seed signifies Christ preaching. In such a way ambassadors usually receive the keys of the city, but meanwhile they do no properly acquire anything for themselves, but merely represent the person o heir prince.

With such being so constituted, our adversaries reckon that Peter by the second reasoning signified the Church when he heard from the Lord: “I wil give you the keys.” From which it follows, keys were given firstly to the Church itself, and through the Church they are communicated to pastors, and his is the literal sense of this place, as the Smalkaldic council says: “Therefore he gave principally and immediately to the Church, just as also on account of i he right of vocation should have the origin of the Church.

But we believe that Peter managed the person of the Church in the firs manner: so without a doubt, that he truly and principally received the keys, and at the same time signified by their reception that he was afterward going to receive the universal Church in that specific manner. A little after we wil explain which manner, but now we will briefly show the matter in itself.

First, Christ designated the person of Peter in so many ways, that (as Cajetan rightly remarks) notaries who devise public documents do not usually describe some certain man by as many circumstances. For in the first place he expressed the substance of a singular person, through the pronoun *to you* (*tibi*) Next, he adds the name given to him in birth, when he says "Blessed are you Simon:" he added the name of the father, when he said: "Son of Jonah:" nor did he wish to omit the name recently imposed by him so he says, "I say to you that you are Peter." To what end does he make so exacting a description, if nothing is properly promised to Peter himself? Next, Peter was not a legate of the Church at that time, or a vicar: who placed upon him a province of that sort? Therefore we cannot suspect that he received the keys in the name of the Church, rather than his own.

Besides, the keys were properly promised by Christ to the one who had said: "You are truly Christ, the Son of the living God;" and as St. Jerome says true confession received the reward: whereas Peter made known that excellent confession, and in his person, therefore he received the promise of the keys in his person.

To this, if on that account it must be denied that keys were promised to Peter, because he managed a figure of the Church; we will certainly deny by the same reasoning, that Abraham had two sons that represented two peoples, as the Apostle witnesses. Further, we would not be able to affirm that Martha being anxious for many things, while her sister Mary sat at the feet of the Lord that without a doubt these two foreshadowed action and contemplation. But if it is so serious to call obvious history into doubt, it also ought to seem grave to doubt whether something unique was promised to Peter, since so singular an event is related in the evangelical history.

In the end, it was said to him by the Lord: "I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven," and a little after he heard from the same Lord: "Get behind me Satan, you are a scandal unto me," and these second words are to Peter alone, and were said to his own person, as is clearly gathered from the Gospel, as even Luther himself teaches. 246 Therefore, who can deny, that the keys were promised to Peter in his person?

Yet, maybe “I will give you the keys,” and “Get behind me Satan,” were not said to the same man. But more correctly they are altogether to the same man: for in the same chapter of that Gospel both are contained, and the name of Peter is expressed by both, and in this opinion all the Fathers agree. Certainly Hilary, Jerome, Chrysostom and Theophylactus eloquently teach on Matthew XVI, that “I will give you the keys” and “Get behind me” is said to the same Peter.

For, although Hilary does not dare in this place to refer the word “Satan” to Peter; nevertheless he refers those which precede it to Peter, namely “Get behind me.” And he also refers the word “Satan” to Peter in his commentary on the Psalms: “He had so great an obligation to suffer for the salvation of the human race, that he reprimanded Peter, the first confessor of the Son of God the foundation of the Church, the porter of the heavenly kingdom, the judge in the judgment of heaven, with the reproach of Satan.” 247 And Augustine says ‘Is it possible that Razias 248 should be better than Peter the Apostle, who after he said: “You are Christ, the Son of the living God,” was so blessed by the Lord that the latter declared that he merited to receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, nevertheless it is not believed that he must be imitated, where soon in the same moment he being condemned heard: “Get behind me Satan, you do not reckon the things which are of God, etc.” 249

St. Ambrose says a similar thing in his book on Isaac, where he expounds upon those words of the Lord to Peter: “You can not follow me now, but a little after,” 250 Ambrose relates: “He had entrusted the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and showed it would not be meet for Peter to follow him.” 251 Where St. Ambrose altogether wished clearly to show the keys were consigned to the same man, to whom it was said “You cannot follow me now, but a little after;’ it is certain that these words were said to Peter in his own person, and just the same when he will have been truly crucified in his own person, he followed Christ by dying.

Yet Luther objects against these arguments in the same book, *on the Power of the Pope*. First, he argues, it is certain that the Lord said to Peter: “Get behind me Satan, you do not reckon those things which are of God,” but these words are not fitting to the one whom the Father revealed the secrets of heaven and who received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore, he heard the heavenly revelation not in his own person, but in the person of the Church, and received the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

We respond: all these are fitting to the same person, as now we have already proven, but not for the same reason. Peter indeed has revelation by a gift of God, and receives the keys. Yet scandal is caused by his own weakness concerning the passion and death of Christ. Nor should the name *Satan* trouble us: it does not signify the devil, but an adversary: accordingly ,sc [sat-an] with the Hebrews is nothing other than adversary. Therefore, although the devil is here and there called "Satan," nevertheless, it does not indicate the devil everywhere.

The Second objection. Peter said in the name of all the disciples: "You are Christ, the Son of the living God," therefore he heard in the name of all: "To you I will give the keys." Hence, in the name of all, Peter responded to Christ. It is certain, both from Chrysostom, who writes on this citation that Peter was the mouth of the apostles, as well as from Jerome, who says that Peter spoke for all, and Augustine, who says that one responded for all. 252 Even from that which Christ asked all the disciples: "Whom do you say I am?" For either all the disciples must be asked, which did not correspond to the question, or what is more believable, Peter responds in the name of all.

I respond: Peter responded in the name of all, not as some herald, but as the prince and head, as well as the mouth of the apostles, as Chrysostom says. Moreover, he alone responded, since the rest were ignorant of the chief thing they should say, but they approved the confession of Peter by their silence, and in that way through the mouth of Peter all responded. Just the same, Peter alone responded, and the rest agreed with him: so Christ promised the keys to Peter alone, but after him they were communicated to the rest.

We prove that it is so by this reason: If Peter would have responded in the name of all, or seen to it that the rest would have demanded this province from him, or that he should know what they were to respond, but neither is true. Not the first, because he learned this by revelation of the Father, not from human consultation, as the Lord says: "Flesh and blood have not revealed to you, etc.' Not the second, because revelation was made to him alone. Likewise, because if he knew the mind of the others, he would have indicated this in some way, just as he did when he said: "Where shall we go? You have the words of eternal life," and: "We believe and we know, that you are Christ, the Son of God." 253 In which citation, Chrysostom notes, that Peter said for all, "We believe, etc.' Therefore Christ admonished, that it is not true about all. For Judas did not believe: "Didn't I chose you, and one of you is a devil?" But when Peter said

‘You are Christ, the Son of the living God,” since he did not mention the others, the Lord simply approved the confession of Peter.

The testimonies of the Fathers agree, and they do not obscurely teach that Peter was the first who spoke, that he would not know what the others felt or the matter. Hilary on this citation says: “He was judged worthy, that he should be the one to recognize something in Christ of God, etc.” Therefore, if the first be true, then revelation was not made to the others at the same time. Hilary continues: “In the silence of all, understanding the Son of God by revelation of the Father, etc.” And the same: “He spoke, what the human voice had not yet mentioned.” 254

Chrysostom says: “Seeing that he sought for their common opinion, they all responded; when he asked them about himself, Peter immediately rose up and arriving at it first said: “You are Christ, the Son of the living God.” 255 St Cyril says: “As the leader and head, he was the first from the rest to express ‘You are Christ, the Son of the living God.” 256 Augustine: “This Peter was the first of all of them to merit to confess by divine revelation, saying: ‘You are Christ,’ etc.” 257

St. Leo says: “The Blessed apostle Peter must be praised in the confession of this unity, who, when the Lord sought to discover what his apostles might think about him; it arrived first from his most excellent mouth: ‘You are Christ the Son of the living God.’” 258 And again in his sermon on St. Peter and Paul ‘So long as the word of those responding is common, the fogginess of human understanding is expressed: but where something may hold the sense of the disciples is examined: he is first in the confession of the Lord who is first in apostolic dignity.” It is manifestly gathered from these testimonies, that Peter responded for all by no other reason than that all the rest [of the disciples] assented to the opinion of Peter.

The Third objection: the keys are promised to Peter, not as he is the son of Jonah, but as one who hears the heavenly Father; therefore, properly they are promised to anyone who is a hearer of the heavenly Father, therefore they are not promised to flesh and blood. It is certain that a true disciple of the Father is not concerned with any particular man, rather that the Church depends assiduously upon the mouth of God the Father; therefore the keys were promised not to some particular man, but to the Church.

I respond: this argument of Luther is amazingly opposed to the very words of the Gospel. Christ says: “Blessed are you, Simon Bar Jonah.” And a little after: “I will give you the keys:” but Luther says they are not given or promised

o Simon bar Jonah. Again, Christ says: “My Father has revealed to you, who is n heaven.” Luther says, however, “we are certain that it concerns no particular nan, whether he should hear the Father,” hence, they do not concern Peter Therefore, it is false or uncertain, when Christ says “The Father has revealed to you.” Why, therefore, did the father reveal to Peter, if Peter heard nothing? But f Peter also heard the testimony of Christ, it is also certain that the keys were given to Peter, the one who heard the Father of heaven.

Next, to be a listener of the Father is not a formal reasoning for why the keys should be given; otherwise ecclesiastical power would depend on the goodness of the ministers, which is the heresy of the Donatists, which even in he Augsberg confession we see is rejected. 259 Rather, that excellent confession of Peter was the occasion, or the meritorious cause, why the keys were promised to him rather than to others, as is gathered from the commentaries of Hilary, Jerome, Chrysostom and Theophylactus.

The fourth objection, is that St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans, Chapter IV, says: “Since the faith of Abraham was reputed unto justice,” therefore ustice must be reputed to all who will have believed; therefore in the same way, if because Peter confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God he eceives the keys, certainly all the faithful who confess Christ have the keys Luther says this argument is similar in form to the argument of Paul, and cannot be refuted, unless Paul’s argument is likewise refuted.

I respond with Cajetan: this argument is similar in form, but unlike in natter, and on that account settles nothing. For faith leads to justice by its nature, and makes the just from the unjust, or more just from the just, if they would not fail in the remaining things which are required at the same time to be ustified. But the confession of faith does not lead by its nature to receive the keys, rather, although the confession of Peter could have been rewarded in six hundred ways, it pleased Christ to make a gift of the keys. And we see something similar in the example of Abraham: accordingly Abraham was ustified not by faith alone, but also he merited to become the father of many nations, as the Apostle says in the same place, nevertheless not all who believe nay be the father of many nations. Without a doubt, in itself there is not a natural connection between faith and the gift of the keys or fruitfulness; just the same it is naturally and in itself connected with justice.

The fifth objection: Either while Peter died the keys remained in the Church, or they perished with Peter: if the first therefore they were given to the Church; if the second, men cannot now again be loosed and bound.

Likewise, in another mode, when a Pope is chosen, the keys will either be present with him, or not; if the first, therefore he was already made Pope beforehand: if the second, whence, therefore does he have the keys? Are they brought to him from some angel from heaven? Or rather does he receive them from the Church, to which they were handed by Christ from the beginning?

I respond: with the Pope being dead the keys do not perish, nevertheless they do not remain formally in the Church, except insofar as they are consigned to lower ministers, but they remain in the hands of Christ. When, however, a new Pope is chosen, the keys are not brought by him, nor given to him by the Church, but by Christ, not in a new handing on, but in the ancient institution. Accordingly, when he gave these to Peter, he gave them to all his successors.

It would be similar if some king, when he places a viceroy over a province, he would publish at the same time, at his pleasure, that after the viceroy dies, they should choose and nominate another, and he concedes the same power as he had previously.

The sixth objection of Luther and of Calvin is in the noted citations of Matthew XVI; the keys of the kingdom of heaven are not given, but promised. But in Matthew XVIII and John XX they are given, but in those citations they are not given to Peter alone, but to all the apostles. For Matthew 18 it is said "Whatever you will have bound upon earth, you will bind even in heaven, and whatsoever you will have loosed on earth, will be loosed in heaven. And John XX has: "Receive the Holy Spirit, whose sins you remit will be remitted to them, and whose sins you retain are retained." Therefore, they were also promised not to one, but to all.

I respond: Concerning the second citation there is no difficulty: for it is certain, that the whole power of the keys is not given through these words, but only the power of order to forgive sins: accordingly the power in this citation is limited to sins. In Matthew XVI it is not so limited, rather it is said "Whatsoever you bind on earth," but men are bound not only by sins, but even by laws. Thereupon, it is a lesser thing to retain sins, than to bind the sinner: for to retain is to relinquish a man in his state, or not to loose: but to bind is to impose a new bond on him, which is done through excommunication, interdict law, etc. Lastly, the Fathers eloquently assert that this power to remit sins is given through the sacraments of Baptism and Penance. See Chrysostom and Cyril on this citation, and Jerome. [260]

On the earlier citation there is a greater difficulty, and indeed, Origen in his commentary on this citation contends that ecclesiastical power was not handed

ɔver, rather, merely fraternal correction: moreover, in this place, the phrase “tɔ oose” which, by his admonition, is the occasion that should the sinner come ɔack to his senses, the penance due shall be loosed from the bonds of sinner hat phrase “to bind” which is the occasion of denunciation, that the sinner ;hould be considered just as a heathen and a publican. Yet in the same place Origin adds that it is not the same thing which is considered here, since in the :xplication of Origen on Matth. XVI does not seem probable, nevertheless, it is ;ufficiently gathered from it that Origen in no way favors the Lutherans.

Another exposition is that of Theophylactus, who reckons the words of the Lord are directed to those who suffer an injury, moreover to bind them, while hey retain the injury; and loose while they remit, which is not an exceedingly rue opinion. For either one who receives an injury remits the penitent, or does ıot: if the first, then certainly he will have been loosed in heaven, but no ɔesides that which he shall remit, for although he refuses to remit, he shall be :emitted in heaven; if the second, then he is not remitted in heaven, whom he ireed on earth: and also the same can be said on binding; although the opinion night be true, nevertheless nothing impedes our case; therefore it is certain that ;omething else was given to Peter than that he would remit injuries made tɔ ıimself. Therefore the exposition of Hilary, Jerome, Anselm and others on this ɔlace, not the least Augustine, 261 is common. The Lord spoke concerning the ɔower of the keys, whereby the apostles, and their successors, bind and loose ;inners.

And although this seems especially treated on the power of jurisdiction whereby sinners are excommunicated, nevertheless, the Fathers we have named ɔn this citation show both the power of order and of jurisdiction: and certainly t seems that it can be deduced from the text itself, for here it is said sɔ generally: “Whatsoever you will have loosed,” etc. just as Matth. XVI has ‘whatever you will have loosed.” But if these are so considered, what will we :espond to our adversaries? Is it not so that what was promised to Peter alone s now given to all the apostles?

Thomas Cajetan teaches that it is not the same keys of the kingdom of ıeaven, and the power of loosing and binding: therefore the keys of the kingdom of heaven include power, both ordinary and of jurisdiction, which is ;ignified by the actions of binding and loosing: and besides something further t seems more obviously to mean to open and close than loose and bind. 262

But this doctrine seems to us to be more mundane than true. For keys apart ırom those of order and jurisdiction are unheard of in the Church. And the plain

sense of those words: “I will give you the keys, and whatever you will have oosed upon earth, etc.,” that is, the authority first should be promised or the power designated through the keys, thereafter even actions or a duty is explicated through those terms “to loose and bind,” so that altogether it should be the same as to open and close. Further, the Lord expressed the actions of the keys by loosing and binding, not by shutting and opening, in order that we should understand they are metaphorical sayings, and that at length to open heaven for men, but even more that men should be freed from their sins, which blocks their path to heaven.

Therefore with those opinions having been noted, we assert that by these words as they are contained in Matth. 18, nothing is given except in as much as it was promised or explicated and foretold, that the apostles and their successors were going to have the power. Next, it is plain, that the apostles were not made priests until the Last Supper, nor Bishops and Pastors until after the resurrection; hence, at the time in which the Lord said these things, they were private men, and they did not have any ecclesiastical power.

Thereupon, if by these words: “Whatever you will have bound in heaven will be bound,” the power of binding is given in the very matter, it is also given by the former: “Whatever thou will have bound will be bound, etc.” power will be given, not promised, as the words are altogether the same. But our adversaries affirm that by the former words “whatever thou will have bound,” nothing is given, but only promised; therefore by those words “whatsoever you will have bound,” nothing is given, but only promised. It was with a view to this promise that the Lord had said one should be reckoned for a Heathen or a Tax Collector if he would not listen to the Church, lest one should think that the authority of the Church can be scorned, he joined to it such power of prelates of the Church, that what they might have bound on earth, shall be bound even in heaven.

No doubt you will say: If the keys were not given to the Apostles in this place, but only promised, then where were they given? I respond: They were given in John XX and XXI. For in John XX, when the Lord said to the apostles: “Peace be with you, just as the Father sent me, I send you,” he attributed to them the power, or the key of jurisdiction; therefore he made them just as legates by these words, and in his name governors of the Church moreover in the following words: “Receive the Holy Spirit, whosoever’s sins you forgive, etc.” he gave to the same the power of order, as we said above.

Indeed, that we might understand that this supreme power was conferred to all the apostles as legates, not as ordinary pastors, and with a certain subjection to Peter, it is said to Peter alone: “Feed my sheep,” just as in the same manner it had been said to him alone: “To you I will give the keys.” Therefore the keys of the kingdom as a principle and ordinary prefect, he then received alone, when he heard the words: “Feed my sheep;” then care of his brother apostles was consigned to him.

Besides, just as in Matth. XVI he is called “Simon bar Jonah” in the promise of the keys, so also it is shown in the last Chapter of John that he is called “Simon of John”, or as it is in the Greek “Simon of Jonah.” And as in Matth. XVI the keys are not promised previous to his unique faith in Christ, so also in the last Chapter of John, “Feed my sheep,” is not said before he would be asked whether he believed Christ more than the rest. And there is simply no reason why it should be said to Peter so uniquely: “To you I will give the keys;” and “Feed my sheep,” and that on account of his unique faith and love, unless he was going to receive something apart from the rest. Thus St. Leo writes correctly, that the power of loosing and binding was handed to Peter apart from the rest.

The last objection of Luther and Calvin is taken from the testimonies of the Fathers. St. Cyprian teaches that the keys were not given to Peter for any other reason apart from the rest, which afterward were given to all, so that it should signify unity of the Church: “In this the rest of the Apostles were assuredly endowed with an equal partaking of both honor and power as was Peter; but the beginning proceeds from unity, and the primacy is given to Peter so that the Church will be shown to be one.” 263 Also St. Hilary so speaks: “You, O holy and blessed men, on account of the merit of your faith you were appointed the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and obtained the right of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth.” 264

St. Jerome also says: “You say the Church shall be founded upon Peter although in another place it is made upon all the apostles, and they all received etc.” 265 St. Augustine teaches: “If in Peter there would not be the sacrament of the Church, the Lord would not have said to him; ‘I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.’ If it was merely said to this man, Peter, he did not do this for the Church, therefore if this is not done in the Church, when Peter received the keys, it signified the Church.” 266 Finally, St. Leo, explaining these words, says: “‘To Thee I will give the keys, etc.’ The force of this power

passed to the other apostles, and to all princes of the Church the constitution o his decree passed." 267

I respond: St. Cyprian, when he says the apostles were equal in honor and power, teaches nothing against our opinion: we certainly affirm the apostles were equal in apostolic power, and held the same authority over the Christian people, but it was not equal in itself: that which St. Leo says explains these words of Cyprian, when he teaches: "Among the most blessed apostles there was a discretion of power in the similitude of honor, and although the choice o all should be equal, nevertheless it was given to one that he should be preeminent over the rest." 268

Moreover, St. Cyprian teaches the same thing in the same book and in other places. For when he says: "The beginning embarked from unity, that the Church should be shown as one," he does not understand the logically prior order of time that this power was given to Peter alone, apart from the rest, that through it the unity of the Church should be signified: but that the Church began in the one Peter, just as in the foundation and head, that because of this very thing the Church should have one foundation and head, merely to show i s one: just as one house is described by one foundation, so also one body by one head.

But this opinion is proved first in the matter from the words of Cyprian which is false by order of time; prior ecclesiastical power was given to Peter apart from the rest, for it was given to all in John XX. Moreover, after that i was said to Peter alone: "Feed my sheep," therefore the beginning is not understood to have embarked from one, because the keys should first be given o one, but because they were given only to one as ordinary, and the first Pastor and head of the rest.

Thereafter the same is proved from the words of Cyprian himself, for in his very book *On the Simplicity of Prelates*, he explains the unity of the Church, and why the beginning was made by Peter alone; he writes that the Church is one in that manner, in which all are called one light of the ray of the sun, as they spring from the one sun, and many rivers from one water, because hey are derived from one source, and many branches from one tree, because hey all grow up from one root.

Next, this root and this source, whence the unity of the Church is taken up s the seat of Peter, and Cyprian teaches this in many places: "They dare to sai o the chair of Peter, and the principal Church, whence sacerdotal unity arises?' 269 What could be clearer? He also writes to Pope Cornelius, saying: "We

know, we are exhorted that we should acknowledge the mother and root of the Catholic Church and hold fast to it." 270 And below that, explaining what this root might be, he says: "For the Lord first gave this power to Peter, upon whom he built the Church, and whence he established and showed the font of universality." Further down: "The Church, which is one, was founded by the voice of the Lord upon the one who received his keys." etc. There you see clearly that the Church is called one, because it was founded upon the one Peter.

Now we affirm the testimony of Hilary, that all the apostles received the keys, but not in the same manner in which Peter had. Hilary writes the reason why in the same place, that Peter, because he alone responded while all the apostles were silent, rose above all by the confession of his faith, merited the place; therefore Peter had a preeminent place among the apostles, if we believe Hilary; and in Chapter XVI of Matthew, he speaks of Peter alone: "O blessed porter of heaven, to whose authority the keys of the eternal entrance are entrusted."

I speak to what Jerome says: the answer is in the same book, for Jerome says, that though all the apostles had the keys, still they needed to be subject to Peter the head.

Now I speak to the argument from St. Leo: Certainly that authority of loosing and binding passed to many others, but nevertheless, it was given principally to Peter. For the same Leo says in the same place: "If Christ wished something to be in common with him and the rest of the princes, he never gave except through Peter himself, anything he did not refuse to the others." And he also says: "The power of loosing and binding was entrusted to Peter apart from the rest." 271

The testimony of Augustine remains, which, that it should be explained more diligently, three things must be prefaced. First, when he says that Peter bore a figure of the Church when he receives the keys, speaks historically that he received this, not parabolically, so that in no way did he think it should be denied that Peter really received the keys in his own person. That is clear from his tract on Psalm 108, in which place Luther objects: "There, Augustine says Peter was a figure of the Church when he receives the keys, just as Judas was a figure of the ingratitude of the Jews when he betrayed Christ;" but it is certain that Judas really betrayed Christ historically in his person.

Likewise in the last tract on John, Augustine says that Peter bore the person of the Church militant and active life, when he heard: "Follow me:" and "let

another accompany you, and he will lead in which you do not wish:" and when he receives the keys of the kingdom, just as John bore a figure of the Church triumphant and contemplative life, when he reclined at the Lord's breast, and when it was said of him: "I wish him to remain thus." But it is certain, that John historically and truly in his own person reclined at the Lord's breast, and fulfilled the letter in that: "I wish him to remain thus," whether he might die or not by a violent death, or another thing should be understood through those words: it is no less certain to the letter, that Peter heard in his person: "Let another accompany you," etc., therefore it also ought to be understood historically, that Peter received the keys.

Therefore, Augustine says in *De Trinitate*, that he bore a figure of the Church when he was baptized; 272 therefore Augustine does not exclude a historical narrative, when he says that one is a figure of another.

But you may say, Augustine seems to think that not everything in psalm 108 can be understand concerning the person of Judas, and therefore it is fitting to show many things about Judas bearing in his person of the impious. And in the last tract of John, Augustine expresses figuratively those things which are said of Peter and John, because they did not seem to agree properly with their persons. For it is written about Peter, that Christ loved him more than John, and on the other hand it is written about John that he was loved by Christ more than Peter, which cannot be true to the letter, since Christ must be just, and always loved them more who loved him more, therefore when Augustine expresses something on Peter as bearing the person of the Church, certainly he does that because he reckons that it does not properly fit Peter.

I respond: Augustine nowhere says that what is said about Judas is not true to the letter, or on Peter and John in the Scriptures; nor was Augustine so inexperienced or impious that he would wish to deny that John historically reclined at the Lord's breast, or that "this is the disciple whom Jesus loved;" or it was literally said to Peter, "Simon of John, do you love me more than these?" or: "Follow me." Therefore Augustine does not deny that it can and ought to be understood literally about Judas, Peter and John, but he merely says that the literal sense is often obscure and is not easily understood: however the mystical sense is much more illustrative and clear, and besides he wished to express these places figuratively with the literal sense being left out.

In the second place it must be observed that St. Augustine, when he says that St. Peter received the keys in the person of the Church, did not wish to signify that the keys were really and historically accepted by him, just as by a

ype of vicar or legate of the Church, but as the legate of a king, in the name o
iis prince, they usually say he received the keys of some city: but rather more
is by a prince and moderator of the whole Church, by which agreement we say
t is given by a kingdom, which is given by a king, especially if that should be
:eded for public advantage.

Furthermore, what the mind and opinion of St. Augustine are can be clearly
gathered from the fact that in almost every place where he says that Peter was a
igure of the Church, he explains that he says this by reason of the primacy
'Whose Church Peter the apostle bears the person in a figurative generality or
iccount of the primacy of his Apostolate," and also: "He is recognized to have
)orn the person of which (of the Church) on account of the primacy which he
iad among the disciples." 273 And: "Peter is named after the rock, blessed
)earing the figure of the Church, holding the rule of the apostolate." 274

Lastly it must be observed, that in Augustine Peter bore a figure of the
Church in two ways. First Peter, as the supreme Prelate of the Church
'eceiving the keys, signified all prelates that were going to have the same keys
)ut from Peter, and they were not shared without measure for Peter did not
'eceive them so that he alone would use them, but that he would share them
with all bishops and priests. Clearly, at any rate, the Apostles were merely
:xcepted, since they would receive them by a certain extraordinary plan
mmediately from Christ, as we spoke of in another place.

Therefore Peter was first a figure of the whole body of ecclesiastica
ministers, and in this Augustine would have it understood: "If this was only
;aid to Peter, it gives no ground of action to the Church. But if such is the case
ilso in the Church, that what is bound on earth is bound in heaven, and what is
oosed on earth is loosed in heaven, —for when the Church excommunicates
he excommunicated person is bound in heaven; when one is reconciled by the
Church, the person so reconciled is loosed in heaven:—then such is the case in
he Church that Peter, by receiving the keys, signified the Holy Church." In that
)lace Calvin omits the adverb *only* (*tantum*), in order to persuade us that
iothing was said or given to Peter, except insofar as it signified the Church.

But Augustine does not say "if this was said to Peter, then such is the case
n the Church," but, rather he says: "If this was only said to Peter, etc.," and the
;ense of those words is: if it had been so said to Peter alone, "I will give the
keys" that he alone ought to bind and loose, it follows that the rest of the
Church, that is, the other ministers, do not do this: but if they also do this, as we

see, certainly Peter when he received the keys, represented the universa Church in figure.

In another manner, the same Peter receiving the keys was a figure of the whole Holy Church, that is, of all the just and living members of the body o Christ: for St. Augustine devised a new manner of speaking about the keys and he remission of sins on account of the Donatists; hence, besides that mode o speaking, in which we say sins are remitted by the priests in the administration of the sacraments of baptism and penance, is the manner of speaking he uses everywhere with the other Fathers, he frequently says sins are remitted by the charity of the Church, by the groans of the dove, by the prayers of the saints and in this way the keys of the kingdom are merely of the just, and this was signified when Peter received the keys.

He says: “Charity of the Church, which is diffused by the Holy Spirit in our hearts, forgives the sins of his partakers: furthermore he retains the sins of those who are not his partakers.” 275 Likewise Augustine says: “Whoever wil baptize did not remit sins, which is given by the prayers of the Saints, that is through the groans of the dove, if he does not pertain to the peace of the dove whereby it is given. Therefore, would the Lord have said to thieves and usurers ‘When you forgive sins they are forgiven, but when you retain they are retained’? Indeed, outside [the Church] nothing can be bound or loosed, where there is no one who can either bind or loose: but he is loosed who makes peace with the dove, and he is bound who does not have peace with the dove.” 276 And again: “For it is manifest that the Lord gave power to Peter in a type, that whatever might be loosed on earth is something he loosed, because that unity even should be said to be perfected together with the dove.” 277 And further down: “Through the prayers of the spiritual saints, who are in the Church, just as through the abundant cry of the dove, a great sacrament is born, and a secre dispensation of the mercy of God, that their sins should also be absolved, which are not through the dove, but by the hawk they are baptized, if they draw nigh to that sacrament with the peace of catholic unity.” Similar things are in other works. 278

For what remains, St. Augustine does not mean by these words that the Church of the just remits sins of its own authority, rather, no man’s sins are remitted, except in as much as he will be baptized and reconciled, unless the charity of the Church is extended to him, and he is made a living member of the love, and hence, a partaker of the prayers of the other just. Therefore by the prayers of the saints, just as by the groan of the dove, interior penance is

procured, as well as charity through which whoever is formally justified, is justified formally.

Again St. Augustine devised this manner of speaking on account of the Donatists, to whom it seemed a wonder that heretics can justify men through baptism, and be introduced into the Church, since they are covered in sins and outside the Church. Augustine speaks to demolish this admiration, both that he who baptizes does not remit sins, but the groan of the dove; because he who is baptized is not justified because he is baptized by this one or that one, but because it is shown through baptism, no matter who administers it, that the charity of the Church is extended.

Chapter XIII: What Should be Understood by the Keys in Matthew XVI

A fourth remains: what forsooth should be understood by the keys: for Calvin contends that rule of the Church was not given to Peter, even if he could be convinced that the keys of the kingdom of heaven should be given to Peter alone. 279 He attempts this argument by this reasoning:

What it may mean to loose and bind, the Lord shows in John Chapter XX when he gave authority to the apostles to remit and retain sins: to loose therefore, is to forgive sins, to bind is to retain them. Further, the Scripture everywhere teaches how sins shall be remitted and retain, since through the preaching of the Gospel men illuminated are witnessed freed from the depravity of their sins. "He has placed among you a word of reconciliation; we exercise legation for Christ, with God, as it were, exhorting us. We preserve for Christ; you are reconciled to God." 280

Therefore he is said to remit sins that converts men to God by announcing the Gospel: he is said to retain that declares those whom he sees are obstinate must be surrendered to everlasting punishment. For which reason it follows that to receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven is not to receive rule or power over others, but is the pure and sole word of God. Calvin says that this exposition is not cunning, not coerced, not twisted, but germane, logical and obvious.

The Centuriators attempt to prove the same thing for another reason: to them without a doubt if primacy was given or promised to Peter in these words the apostles would not have doubted afterwards about who seemed greater among them. 281 On the contrary, when they sought the answer from him, the Lord at least would have responded: "Do not quarrel further, for I have established Peter as the chief." But the Lord said nothing of the sort; therefore that promise of the keys confers nothing with regard to the primacy. 282

Yet we and all Catholics understand that power over every Church was given to Peter by the keys, and we confirm it for three reasons. First, the metaphor of the keys itself, as it is customarily received in Sacred Scripture accordingly, Isaiah describes the deposition of one high priest and the establishment of another in these words: "Go, get thee in to him that dwells in the tabernacle, to Sobna who is over the temple: and you shall say to him: What do you here, or as if you were somebody here? . . . I will drive you out from

your station, and depose you from your ministry. And it will come to pass on that day, that I will call my servant Eliacim, the son of Helcias, and I will clothe him with your tunic, and will strengthen him with your belt, and will give your power into his hand, and he shall be as a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the house of Juda. And I will place the key of the house of David upon his shoulder: and he shall open, and none shall shut: and he shall shut and none shall open." 283

Here remission of sins obviously is not understood by the keys, but ecclesiastical rule. Isaiah IX also pertains to such a purpose: "The rule was made upon his shoulders." Therefore, rule is said to have been placed upon the shoulders, because the keys, by which rule was designated, were customarily placed upon the shoulder. And one cannot deny that the keys signify the rule of Christ, if one reads this about Christ in the Apocalypse: "He who is holy and true says these things, who has the key of David, who opens, and no man closes, and closes and no man opens." 284

Common custom also agrees, even in profane matters: for when cities are given to some prince, they offer him the keys as a sign of subjection, and the keys are usually handed over to one who is established as a steward in the house.

Secondly, it is proved by these words: "Whatsoever you will have bound etc." for in the Scriptures one is said to bind who commands and punishes. The Lord speaks thus concerning precepts: "They bound heavy and unbearable burdens on the shoulders of men, etc." 285 And on punishments: "Whatever you will have bound upon earth, etc." 286 Here, even Calvin witnesses that the Lord speaks about a censure of excommunication, therefore the Church binds those whom she punishes with the penalty of excommunication. We also speak commonly to this, that men are obliged to keep the law, and even obliged to undergo punishment should they fail to do so. Furthermore, one is said to loose who remits sins, who frees from a penalty, who dispenses in law, in vows, takes baths, and like obligations. Therefore, when it is said to Peter generally 'Whatsoever you loose, etc." the power of commanding is given to him, as well as of punishing, dispensing and remitting; hence, he is a judge and prince of all who are in the Church.

The third proof is from the Fathers: for Chrysostom, while giving exposition on this promise, says that the whole world was consigned to Peter and he was made pastor and head of the whole Church. 287 St. Gregory said 'It is established that while all know the Gospel, that care of the whole Church

was consigned to Peter, the holy prince of all apostles, by the Lord's voice.' 288

The argument of Calvin does not conclude anything. For especially it is not true, that the keys promised to Peter in Matthew XVI were given to him in John XX, since that is more to bind and loose than to remit and retain sins, as we taught above. And rightly in vain were the keys promised to Peter, as a reward for a singular confession, if nothing was singularly given to him afterward.

Then accordingly, it is also false, that to remit sins is nothing other than to preach the Gospel. And it is a marvel, that so obvious an exposition was obvious to none of the fathers, but rather, at length, only occurred to Calvin. Certainly Chrysostom and Cyril, in this place of John, as well as Jerome, 289 understand by the authority of remitting sins, the power of conferring the sacraments of baptism and penance, not the power of preaching. Moreover it is not the same to preach and to baptize, as Paul teaches in 1 Corinthians I, where he says that he was sent by the Lord, "not to baptize, but to evangelize." 290

Furthermore, to that which is said on the word of reconciliation, I respond in that place a sermon is indeed understood by the word reconciliation, but Paul does not wish to say a sermon suffices to reconciliation, but through a sermon men can be moved to this, that they would wish to be reconciled to God, so that afterward it happens through baptism and penance, as it is said in Acts II. For after the sermon Peter says: "Do penance and be baptized, each and every one of you." 291

To the argument of the Centuriators I respond: The apostles are obviously not understood by the promise of the Lord made to Peter, except after the resurrection of Christ, nevertheless they mistrusted when Peter was constituted as the prince of all, and therefore contended among themselves. Nor is it a wonder that they did not understand, for the Lord had spoken metaphorically. They were so unlearned, that they did not understand many things properly. Therefore Mark writes: "While they descended from the mountain, he commanded them lest they would tell what they had seen to anyone, until that time when the son of man will have risen from the dead. And they kept the word among themselves, seeking what it might mean, that he was going to rise from the dead." 292

Yet from that suspicion which they had about the primacy of Peter they contended amongst themselves, as Origen, Chrysostom and Jerome witness on Matth. 18. Nor is it true what the Centuriators say, that the Lord did not already respond that he was designated a prince: Luke XXII, "Who is greater among

you, let him be your younger, and whoever among you is in authority (h`you,menoj) among you, let him be as your master”? Did not he splendidly call one a greater and a leader?” 293

Chapter XIV: It was said to Peter Alone: Feed my Sheep. John XXI

Now we treat in regard to those words of the Lord, whereby supreme ecclesiastical power was promised to the apostle Peter. Now on those words here will be a dispute, in which that same power was given to the same Peter These words are: “Simon [son] of John, feed my sheep.” In the explication of such words, three things must be proven. First, that it was said to Peter alone ‘Feed my sheep,” and that by the word “Feed” (*Pasce*) supreme ecclesiastical power was handed over. Lastly, that by those terms: “my sheep” the universal Church of Christ was designated. Accordingly all our adversaries deny this.

Thus we proceed to the first where we prove, “Feed my sheep” was said to Peter alone. First by that name “Simon of John,” for by that name only Peter was called, nor without a mystery, as we presaged above, in the same way in as much as Christ calls Peter and promises him the keys, so also he consigns the feeding of the sheep to him in the last Chapter of John, that without a doubt we might understand that the very thing which had been promised in Matthew XV is given to this same Simon, to whom it had been promised beforehand.

Secondly, it is proved by those words: “Do you love me more than these?” He said “Feed my sheep” to the same one to whom he said: “Do you love me more than these?” Furthermore, this is manifest that it is said to Peter alone since the rest are excluded by those eloquent words given by way of comparison: “More than these.” Next, they who are excluded are not every man, but particularly the apostles: they were indeed present then with Peter Nathaniel, whom many think is Bartholomew, James, John, Thomas, and to other disciples, of which another is credible, namely Andrew; therefore “Feed my sheep,” was not said to all the Apostles, but to Peter alone.

Thirdly it is proved from the threefold question. For, we learn from Cyril and Augustine, as well as others on this place of Scripture, that Peter was asked three times whether he loved more than the rest, because he had denied three times, but *only he* denied him three times; therefore he alone is asked; hence [the Lord] said to him alone “Feed my sheep.”

Fourthly, it is proved from those words “Peter wept, etc.” On that account Peter wept, if we believe Chrysostom, because he feared, lest by chance he had been deceived, when he said: “You know O Lord, that I love you.” Just the same, it had been false when he had said: “And if it will be fitting for me to die

with you, I will not deny you." But this origin of the sadness of Peter alone is fitting, since he had denied the Lord; therefore, *Peter alone was sorrowful*, and Christ spoke to Peter alone when he said: "Feed my sheep."

Fifthly from those words: "When you will have grown old you will spread out your hands, etc." "Feed my sheep," is said to the one, whose crucifixion is foretold: hence, death was predicted to Peter alone and in his proper person.

Sixthly, from those words: "But what hence?" and from the response of the Lord: "What is it to you? Follow me." Peter never would have asked what John was going to do, if he had understood "Feed my sheep," to have been said to all: nor would the Lord have said: "What is it to you? Follow me;" rather he would have said he will do the same thing which you do.

The Seventh proof is from the Fathers. For apart from Chrysostom, Cyril and Augustine on this place of Scripture, who say it was said to him, "Feed, my sheep" who had denied three times, who without a doubt was Peter alone Ambrose has the same in the final Chapter of Luke, explaining these very words: "Therefore, that he alone will profess from all, should be born before all." Maximus the confessor likewise says: "Now I judge it necessary that we speak of their proper and special virtues. This is Peter, to whom Christ, while he prepared to ascend into heaven, entrusted to feed his sheepfold and lambs:' 294 therefore this was proper and special in Peter. Likewise, Pope St. Leo teaches: "The one whom the power of binding and loosing had been consigned apart from the rest, he commanded nevertheless, the more special care of feeding the sheep." 295

But on the other hand, Calvin argues 296 that Peter exhorts his fellow priests that they should feed the flock of God; 297 therefore either those words 'feed my sheep" were said to all, or certainly Peter transferred his right to others.

I respond: Peter exhorts his fellow priests that they might feed the flock not a universal one, but a particular one, when he says: "Feed the flock which is among you." Just the same, when St. Paul exhorts the Asian Bishops, that they should attend themselves to the whole flock he immediately adds, "in whom he Holy Spirit has placed you as bishops," that is, not simply a universal flock but to that whole flock which has been *commended to you*. Therefore these words of Peter do not prohibit that general power to feed the whole flock would be consigned to Peter alone, and that he would not transfer his right full right to anyone.

Thereafter, Augustine and Chrysostom can be presented. For Augustine wrote: “When it is said to him (Peter), it is said to all, ‘Do you love me. Feed my sheep.’” 298 Chrysostom, trying to persuade Basil that he should take up the episcopate to which he was called, chose this citation, and said: “Then going to show Basil his excellent speech in Christ, if he would feed his flock since it was written: ‘If you love me, feed my sheep.’” Therefore, Chrysostom would have it that these words of the Lord pertain not to Peter alone, but all bishops.

I respond: Although these words properly and principally pertain to Peter alone, nevertheless it is fitting for them to pertain to all bishops in their own way, because all who are called into the lot of the solicitude by Peter ought to imitate the form of Peter in shepherding the flock. Therefore, what is said by the supreme pastor, that even in his manner, after his proportion has been preserved, is said about other lesser shepherds. And as the Lord was going to make Peter the shepherd of the Church, he asked him whether he loved him more than the rest, that they would be reminded to whom pertains the right to choose and constitute shepherds, so that they would choose such men for the episcopate, as excelled the others in charity. What Pope Leo says pertains to this: “Therefore, this is universally believed from Peter, that the form of Peter is proposed to all rulers of the Church.” 299

Chapter XV: What the Word “Feed” Might Mean in John XXI

Indeed, since it is certain that Peter is the one to whom it is said: “Feed my sheep;” it follows that we ought to see what this word *to feed* [*pascere*] means Martin Luther contends that nothing new is given by that term *Feed*, but only a duty of loving, preaching and teaching is enjoined upon Peter, who had already been constituted an apostle and pastor, though not of the whole Church, but of a certain portion, just as the rest of the apostles and pastors. 300 He tries to prove it with these reasons.

First. “*To feed* is not to be in charge, but to offer food and minister, which can also be done by an inferior; therefore he is not immediately established as a bishop to whom it is said “Feed.” Thereupon, the Lord does not command Christians to obey Peter, but he commands Peter that he should offer nourishment to Christians; therefore a minister, not a prince, is constituted through this word “Feed.” Lastly, if the pontificate were established by these words, it would follow that those who neither love nor feed could be pontiffs hence, often we would have no pope: therefore the greater part of popes neither love the flock nor feed with word and example; for that reason the institution of the papacy is not contained in this word *Feed*, but a simple precept to love and each.”

Yet there will be little difficulty for us to show that by this term *Feed*, the supreme power is attributed to him, to whom it is said: “Feed my sheep.”

First, *to feed* [*pascere*] 301 does not properly mean to feed another, who ministers food for any reason, but one who procures and provides food for another, which certainly an overseer or captain does. “Who do you think is the faithful and prudent dispenser, whom the Lord constituted over his household that he would give them in due season a measure of wheat?” 302 Therefore, it is of this word, *to feed*, that one who is constituted over a household.

It is also understood by this word, *feed [Pasce]*, from the common use of speech every for pastoral act: therefore to feed is that which a shepherd does. Hence, a pastoral act is not only to offer food, but also to lead, lead back, guard, be in charge, rule and castigate. Why? Do shepherds of sheep only offer them fodder? Don’t they also rule and compel them with a rod that they might obey? Hence, everywhere in the Scriptures “to feed” is received on behalf of one that is to rule, as we read in Psalm II: “You rule them with an iron rod.” In

Hebrew .erj [Tarem], that is “feed them.” Rightly they cannot deny that those who feed with an iron rod most truly have power as pastors. Also the Prophet Isaiah calls Cyrus yewr [Roey], that is, “you are my pastor.” Nevertheless in that place the aforesaid Cyrus was not in an office to offer food, rather over the greatest kingdom.

Next it can be more efficaciously shown in this place from that word which John places in his gospel. He wrote po,imaine(that is “feed” by ruling and guiding. For even Homer frequently calls Agamemnon poime,na law/n(that is shepherd of the people. 303 We also read in Scripture: “A leader will go out from you, who shall rule [po,imaine] my people Israel.” 304

And it must be noted in the Hebrew of the prophet Micah, ch. 5, from where Matthew takes it up, there is no verb her [Raah] which means to feed rather the word lcm [Mashal], which is to dominate. Therefore “larcyb lcwm hwyh ‚xy yl]mm” [Mamal Liy Yatsa Lahiyot Moshal Biysaral] - “Out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be the ruler in Israel.” After we read in the book of the Apocalypse: “And he will rule them with an iron rod,” 305 in Greek that is: kai. auto.j poimanei/ a,utou,j en pa,bo/w| sidhrw/) Therefore with poimaivnw does not mean to feed by any mode, but to rule and to be in charge of, and it was said to Peter by the Lord, poivmaine tav pro,bata; it manifestly follows, that Peter was constituted as the ruler and protector of the Church Lastly the testimonies of the Fathers agree. St. John Chrysostom not once calls the duty consigned to Peter a prefecture through that term “Feed” and therefore expresses by that other Scripture: “Faithful and prudent servant, whom the Lord set up over his household.” St. Augustine says in this place: “The sheep themselves must be fed, that is he consigned them to be taught and ruled.’ Thereupon, Gregory calls pastors rulers, and the care as pastoral rule, nay more the summit of ruling, is interpreted itself to feed, rule and be in charge. 306

Nor do these petty syllogisms of Luther bring anything to bear. To the first the response is: to feed is not the duty of a servant who waits on tables, but of a ruler: therefore masters are not fed by servants, although these carry food to the tables of their masters, but on the other hand the servants are rather more fed by masters, by all means who are living at the expense of the masters.

I respond to the second: to be in charge and to be underneath as well as to rule, to be ruled, to feed and be fed, contain a certain relation amongst themselves, so that one cannot exist without the other; hence, by such a word it is said to Peter, that he should be put in charge, rule and feed, in the same

manner we are bid to be under Peter, and also allow ourselves to be ruled and fed by him.

I respond to the third: “feed” is indeed a precept, but by that precept ecclesiastical rule is instituted: power itself is signified by the act, from where that act proceeds. Just the same, when God says: “Let the land sprout living grass:” and for the animals, “let them be fruitful and multiply,” he attributes fertility to things, and established their natures suitable to regeneration. Not only God, but also men usually establish prefect by a word of commanding in some manner. Thus if a king should say to someone: “Go, rule such and such a province,” everyone understands that he is constituted a prefect of that province.

But Luther says: “If through that precept a pontificate is established therefore one ceases to be a pontiff if he does not fulfill the precept.” I respond by those words of precept a pontificate is so established, that nevertheless the power that was conferred does not depend on the observation of the precept. We see that also in human affairs: a viceroy does not cease to be a viceroy, as long as he is not recalled by the king, even if he does not rule the province rightly.

Lastly, what Luther assumes, is not true, that Roman Pontiffs have not fed the flock for a long time. For, although many of them did not preach nevertheless they exercise many other pastoral acts, while they bind, loose dispense, judge controversies, create bishops, and what they do not do by preaching, they do by others. Just the same, both Valerius, the bishop of Hippo and several others, either impeded by old age, or by a hindrance of the tongue fulfilled their duty of preaching through their priests.

Chapter XVI: How the Whole Church is Signified by those words: “My Sheep” of John XXI

A third question remains, which is whether the whole Church may be understood by “My sheep.” All Lutherans deny this, and especially Luther himself: 307 likewise Illyricus, 308 and the Centuriators, 309 as well as the book of the Smalkaldic council on the primacy of the Pope, and Calvin. 310

On the other hand, for us it has been explored and is certain, altogether all Christians, as well as the apostles themselves, are commended to Peter as the sheep of Christ’s flock, when it is said to him: “Feed my sheep.”

Moreover it must be observed, that Christ said twice: “Feed my lambs” and once: “Feed my sheep.” Although in the Greek text he says once “Feed my lambs” and twice “feed my sheep.” It seems that the citation was corrupted by the vice of copyists, who in the second place wrote pro,bata(when they ought to have written proba,tia(that is little sheep or lambs: how easy it is for one iota to disappear! 311

And so I find it to be the case, firstly from Ambrose and Maximus the Confessor. Ambrose on the last Chapter of Luke, says that Christ first entrusted to Peter the lambs (*agnos*) which in Greek is: a.rni,a) Secondly, little sheep (*oviculas*) which in Greek is: proba,tia) Thirdly sheep (*oves*) which in Greek is: pro,bata) Maximus the Confessor says, that the *oviculas* and *oves* were consigned to Peter. Certainly he would not have said this, except that he read proba,tia and pro,bata) Next, I gather the same from our version: for if in Greek it was twice pro,bata(lest some very unlearned boy would have altered it to lambs (*agnos*): who doesn’t know that lambs are a.rnia(not pro,bata?

Therefore, although all Latin codices read *agnos*, this reading was never from Jerome, or disproved by any other; it is necessary to say that the interpreter read proba,tia(that is little sheep (*oviculas*) and turned it to lambs (*agnos*) because *oviculae* and *agni* are often received for the same thing.

With these having been noted, from this variation, which does not lack a mystery, we prove that all Christians were subjected to Peter. For, if by little sheep we understand lambs, we will say that lambs are repeated twice to mean two people, the Jewish people and the Nations: but the sheep being named once mean the bishops, who are just like mothers of the lambs. Therefore the Lord consigned to Peter the care of the *lambs* (*agni*) that is, the Jewish people, and of the *lambs* (*agni*) that is the Gentile people, and of the *sheep* (*oves*) that is of

hose who would give birth to those lambs in Christ, which are the apostles and bishops.

But if by little sheep (*oviculae*) we understand small sheep greater than the lambs, the smaller are perfected by the sheep; it will need to be said with St Ambrose (loc. cit.), that the *lambs (agni), small sheep (oviculae) and sheep (oves)* were consigned to Peter, that is, beginning, effecting and being perfected, so that there would be none in the Church, no matter how spiritual erudite and holy, who would not be under Peter. We will even understand by *lambs* the people who have no pastoral care, only each are sons, not parents: by *little sheep* we shall take up lesser priests, that is priests and pastors, who thus are parents of the people, that they may be sons of bishops: through *sheep*, a length, we will interpret greater priests, that is bishops, who are in charge of the lambs and the small sheep: and nevertheless, who are also subject to Peter himself. It seems Pope St. Leo regarded this when he says that Peter was put in charge of all nations, all the Fathers, all the Apostles by Christ. 312 The nations are lambs, the fathers small sheep, the Apostles great and perfected sheep.

Thereupon, another reason, and at that a characteristic one, he supplies to us with that pronoun "*my*." For, when it is added without any restriction to the word "sheep" the pronoun "my," it is manifestly meant, that all these sheep are consigned to Peter, to which the pronoun "my" is extended: moreover it is certain that word "my" extends simply to all, nor was there ever in the Church one who would not boast that he was a sheep of Christ; therefore, all Christians without exception, the Lord commended to Peter.

We also see similar sayings everywhere in common speech. For he who says: "I leave behind my goods to my sons," without a doubt excludes nothing from his sons. And the Lord, when he says in John: "I know my sheep, and my sheep hear my voice, and I lay down my soul for my sheep," 313 even though he does not say "all sheep," and "for all sheep," still, nobody can deny whether he spoke about all of them.

Besides, what else is "Feed my sheep," than "have care of my sheepfold?" There is only one sheepfold of Christ, "There will be one fold and one shepherd," 314 therefore Christ consigned the whole flock to Peter.

To this end, when the Lord said "Feed my sheep," he either consigned all his sheep to Peter, or none, or some certain and defined ones, or some indefinite ones. But no man will have said none or certain ones were consigned, that is manifestly false: nor even certain indefinite ones, because it is not for a wise

provider to relinquish indefinite care, when he could define it, especially when certain confusion and disturbance arises from that lack of definition.

Besides, to commend some, and not include some, appears to be the same thing as if none were to be consigned. Which ones, I ask, will he feed, who does not know his own flock? Therefore it remains that Christ altogether assigned all his sheep to be fed by Peter.

Furthermore, this is the teaching of all the Fathers. Epiphanius says: "This is the one who heard, 'Feed my sheep,' to whom the sheepfold was entrusted.' 315 There is one fold and one shepherd, as we proved a little before from the Gospel. St. John Chrysostom says on that citation: "While disregarding the others he spoke simply to Peter, and consigned to him care of the brethren.' And further down: "For the Lord communicated to Peter, he entrusted to him the care of the whole world, etc."

St. Ambrose says on the final Chapter of Luke, that the Lord relinquished us to Peter by these words: "Feed my sheep," just as a vicar of his love 'Needing to be lifted up into heaven he left behind one as the vicar of his affairs;" that without a doubt we should have Peter, who will maintain us in paternal and pastoral love, just as Christ himself had done: and likewise he says: "Because, he alone will profess among all, and is born before all."

Pope Leo the great in the aforementioned sermon says: "From the whole world Peter alone is chosen, that he should be put in charge of all nations, and all apostles, and all Fathers of the Church; so that although there may be many priests in the people of God, and many pastors, nevertheless Peter properly rules all whom Christ rules." 316 St. Gregory says that the care of the whole Church was consigned to Peter, and he gives the reason saying: "Naturally it is said to him, 'Feed my sheep.'" 317

Theophylactus, in the last Chapter of John, says: "After the meal was ended he consigned to Peter command of the sheep of the whole world, but no others, rather he handed it to this one."And in ch. XXII of Luke he says: "You O Peter, being converted, you will be a good example of penance to all, since when you were an apostle, and denied, again you received the primacy of all and command of the world." St. Bernard says: "There are, indeed, other porters of heaven, and other shepherds of flocks, but as you have received both names in a manner different from the rest, so for you they bear a more glorious meaning. Other pastors have each their several flocks assigned to them; to you all the flocks have been entrusted, one flock under one shepherd. Do you ask for proof of that? It is the Lord's word. For to whom, (and I do not say or

bishops, rather of the apostles), have all the sheep been so absolutely and indiscriminately consigned? If you love me, O Peter, feed my sheep. Which sheep? The people of this or of that city, or region, or of some kingdom? He says 'my sheep.'" 318 In that place, is it not plain that he did not designate some, but assigned all? Nothing is left out where nothing is distinguished.

Now let us refute the arguments of our adversaries. First the objection of Luther. "Christ does not say: 'Feed all my sheep,' just as he said in another place: 'Teach all nations;' therefore he did not hand all his sheep over to Peter to feed." I respond: the pronoun "My" exerts itself over a universal sign, as we showed above.

The second objection of the same Luther, and also even of Illyricus, is that if the care of feeding all the sheep were consigned to Peter; Peter ought to feed all the sheep: that not withstanding he does not do this, the rest of the apostles also feed their part of the Lord's flock, and they were sent by Christ, not by Peter. I respond: St. Peter fed the whole flock of the Lord, partly by himself partly through others, as he had been commanded: for although the Lord sent all the apostles to preach and feed his flock, nevertheless in the very matter of their care (as Chrysostom says) he consigned to Peter, what they did, Peter did through them, they depended upon him just as the body on its leader.

The third objection is common to Luther and the rest, which we cited at the beginning of the Chapter. The Apostle Paul in Galatians recognizes no subjection to Peter, or James, or John: "To whom we did not yield in subjection, not for an hour." 319 Likewise: "It is of no importance to me, of what quality some were, who appear to be something." Likewise: "Those who seemed to be something, gave no commands to me." And again: "They conferred nothing upon me . . . They embraced me in friendship." 320

I respond: What was proposed by Paul in the epistle to the Galatians, was not to show he was not subject to Peter (that he attained governance he makes no mention of this matter), but rather that his gospel was equally true and divine, and received immediately from Christ himself, just as the gospel of Peter, James and John. Therefore, the reality is the Pseudo-apostles boasted that since Peter, James and John were taught by Christ, Paul was a disciple of men hence, it seemed to them that the Gospel of the former was more true than that of Paul.

Therefore against the calumnies of the Pseudo-apostles Paul arranged his epistle: "Paul, an apostle, not by men, nor through a man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father, . . . I make known the gospel to you, that I preached

because there is no second man. Nor do I receive it from a man, nor did I learn it, rather I received it through the revelation of Jesus Christ."

It also pertains to this: "Those who seemed to be something, conferred to me nothing." Therefore Paul means by these words, that he received no doctrine from the rest of the apostles, but he was diligently instructed in all things by Christ. Moreover he adds: "They received me in friendship." Indeed he compels us that we should believe that Peter and Paul were companions in the same office of preaching, but he does not forbid that we understand Peter was greater than Paul in the office of governing. For also in the first book of Kings, the Scripture says: "Saul and his companions." [321] Nevertheless the same Scripture makes Saul the king, and the rest his servants.

But that: "To whom we did not yield in subjection" does not refer to Peter and James, but to the Pseudo-apostles. Thus we read: "But on account of the fact that false brethren were led in to investigate our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might relegate us to servitude, to whom we do not yield in subjection.

Next, to that citation: "It is of no importance to me, of what quality were some who seemed to be something," is not said in contempt of Peter and John as the Smalkaldic book would have it but in praise and honor. The reason Paul gives for why he wished to compare his gospel with the Apostles who were at Jerusalem, although at sometime they were unlearned men and fishermen, and says that he is equal with them, such as were at one time, is that God does not receive persons, but he set out to them himself, so that they who were already great apostles by the grace of God would seem like columns of the Church.

Next, that citation, "Who seemed to be something they gave no commands to me," no doubt the Smalkaldic Synod of the Lutherans saw some place where they read it, and from there copied out those words into their little book on the primacy of the Pope, for it is certain it is not found anywhere in Paul. Yet no doubt that is the familiarity which our adversaries have with God, that they boldly add to his word, nor fear the wound which God threatens those who add to his word.

The fourth objection of the same. The Apostle teaches in Galatians, that by divine and human law, jurisdiction was divided up between Peter and Paul, and to Peter was allotted the Jewish people, while to Paul the Gentiles: therefore not all the sheep of Christ were consigned to Peter. These are the words of the Apostle: "Since they saw that the Gospel for the uncircumcised had been entrusted to me, just as for the circumcised to Peter, it was for me also to labor

amongst the Gentiles, thus they received Barnabas and me in friendship, that we should labor among the Gentiles, and they amongst the circumcised." 322 Therefore the Apostolate of Peter does not pertain to us, for we are of the Gentiles.

I respond: the division of which Paul speaks in his epistle to the Galatians is not of jurisdiction, but of provinces more suited to preach the Gospel of Christ. Therefore, although all the Apostles could, even as individuals, preach the Gospel in the whole world, nevertheless that it would be done more quickly and easily, a twofold distribution of provinces was made amongst the Apostles. Origin says, that the twelve Apostles together so divided the world among themselves, that Andrew should receive Scythia, Thomas Parthia and India, Bartholomew and Matthew Ethiopia, John Asia, 323 and the rest other places to imbue them with the Gospel of Christ. 324

A second distribution was made between Peter and Paul, without a doubt that Peter especially should work for the conversion of the Jews, though still he was not forbidden from the conversion of the Gentiles; while on the other hand, Paul was chiefly zealous for the conversion of the Gentiles. Still, it was not out of his power to seek the conversion of the Jews. We will confirm all of this from the divine letters with a little labor.

First, it was permitted to Peter to preach to the Gentiles, although he was an Apostle for the Jews, it is certain from many places. He preached to Cornelius and his whole house, 325 concerning which he speaks later: "You know because God elected that through my mouth from the earliest days the Gentiles should hear the word of God, and believe." 326 Thereupon, in the last Chapter of St. Matthew, the Lord said to all the Apostles: "Going therefore teach all nations." And in the last of Mark: "Preach the gospel to every creature." Therefore, by divine law, all the Apostles could preach to all the Gentiles. And certainly the prince of the Apostles is not excluded from that law because it is given to all the Apostles.

Besides, Innocent I teaches that in the whole of Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa and Sicily, Churches were established by Peter, or by some, whom he chose and others whom he sent. 327 Yet it cannot be denied that these Churches were mostly of Gentiles.

Therefore, if Peter was only an Apostle of the Jews and not of the Nations why did he not make his seat at Jerusalem, which was the capital city of the Jews, but first at Antioch in Syria and afterwards at Rome, which were cities of Gentiles? And why did the Gentiles who were at Antioch not take their

question on the laws to Pau, who was the Apostle of the Gentiles, but to Peter and James, who were Apostles of the Jews?

Indeed Paul could also evangelize the Jews, even though he received the principle mandate concerning the Gentiles, as is seen in his deeds. For wherever he went he evangelized in the Synagogues of the Jews. He preached in a Synagogue of the Jews at Salamis and in Antioch at Pisidia; likewise at Iconium, Thessalonika, Corinth, Ephesus and at Rome, the very first thing he did was announce the Gospel to the Jews. 328 And in 1 Corinthians he says: "I have been made for the Jews as a Jew that I should win them over." 329 Lastly he writes to the Hebrews, having care for them, and in 2 Corinthians II affirms that he bears the solicitude of all Churches, and if of all, then certainly of the Jews.

Therefore, both Peter and Paul could preach by divine law, both to the Jews and Gentiles, even though Paul was especially the Apostle of the nations. For that reason the Lord himself said concerning Paul: "This one is my vessel of election, that he should carry my name in the sight of the Gentiles, and Kings and the sons of Israel." 330 Where "sons of Israel" is placed at the end Gentiles in the first. Moreover, it is said to Peter with the other Apostles: "You will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all of Judaea and Samaria, and even to the end of the earth." 331 There the Jews are placed first and the Nations last.

This is what Paul means in Galatians II, that Peter was the Apostle of the circumcised, and he was of the uncircumcised. And thus Jerome expresses it in his place, where the question is proposed, whether it was not lawful for Peter to bring the Gentiles to the faith, and Paul the Jews. He responds, that it was altogether lawful. Nay more, this was put forth to both, that they should gather the Church in the whole world, but still Peter had the principle mandate for the Jews, and Paul the Gentiles.

Furthermore, it must be observed, that the *munus* of Peter was more to be honored than of Paul, since the Lord himself willed for him alone to preach to the Jews; whereas, through the other disciples to the Gentiles. "I am not sent except to the sheep, who are lost from the house of Israel." 332 And the Apostle says: "The ministry of Christ Jesus was of the circumcised." 333 The same Paul compares the Jews to olive oil, and the Gentiles to a wild olive tree grafted onto a good olive, that they might be made partakers of the fat. 334

The fifth objection is that the same Apostle in the same letter to the Galatians, Chapter II, says: "I resisted Peter to the face," therefore he was not

subject to him, rather he was either superior to him or certainly equal to him hence, not all the sheep of Christ are subject to Peter.

I respond: I know Clement of Alexandria suggests that it was not Peter the Apostle, but a certain other man condemned by Paul. 335 I also know tha Jerome and many others would have it that it was not truly Peter, but some counterfeit Peter: but the opinion of Augustine is more probable, that Peter was condemned in earnest, thus I say it is fitting for an inferior to condemn a superior, only when the matter demands it, and due reverence is preserved.

Therefore, Cyprian praises the humility of Peter, not because he had beer condemned by Paul, but because he held the primacy and yet even more it was fitting for him to be submissive to the young and successors, where he indicates that Peter was condemned by an inferior. 336 And Augustine speaks thus 'Peter offered a more rare and holier example to posterity, whereby they should not disdain to be corrected by inferiors: as Paul, by whom inferiors confidently dare to resist superiors for the defense of truth, with charity still being preserved." 337 Gregory also says: "He gave himself also to consensus from an inferior brother, and followed in the same matter business of his inferior, that in this he would go before him, insofar as he was first in the summit of the Apostolate, he should also be first in humility." And further down: "Behold he is condemned by his inferior, and he did not disdain to be condemned." 338

The Sixth objection, is that "the Apostles, without any mandate from Peter constituted Deacons, 339 and again, they sent Peter into Samaria, 340 therefore Peter was not the head and pastor of the Apostles, but he rather was subjected to their command. Besides, Peter hesitated about whether it was lawful to evangelize the Gentiles, 341 and because he did that, he is condemned by the other disciples, 342 who therefore would easily believe that his sheepfold pertained to the Gentiles?"

I respond: The fact that all the Apostles took counsel amongst themselves to constitute Deacons is nothing especially prejudicial to the primacy of Peter it must be believed, that it was done with Peter's authority, or certainly his consent. It would, however, derogate from his primacy if it could be proved that the deed was done when he refused and against his will.

To that argument on the mission of Peter and John which is in Acts VIII, I respond: the term of "Mission" (*missio*) does not necessarily mean subjection in the one who is sent. Thus, one is said to "send" who is the authority for someone that he should go, or, that he should do it by precept; just as the Lord sent servants, on which it is said in John "The servant is not greater than the

naster." 343 One can also be said "to send" by counsel and persuasion: as ar equal at some time sent to an equal, and an inferior to a superior. For in St Matthew, Herod sent the Magi to Bethlehem, over whom he had no command and the people of the Jews sent Phineas the priest to the sons of Ruben and Gad, 344 even though by divine law the high Priest was over the whole people as the Centuriators affirm. Therefore the Apostles sent Peter to the Samaritans by consultation and persuasion, because the matter was very great, to confirm that Nation in the faith.

Now to those objections which are brought from Chapter X and XI of Acts I say many are deceived who think that Peter did not know the Gospel must be preached to the Gentiles, except that he had that revelation in Acts XI. Indeed it is very absurd, for in the last Chapter of Mark and Matthew, the Apostles are told to teach all Nations, and lest someone would say the Apostles did not understand, Luke says: "He opened the sense to them, that they would understand the Scriptures." And next, while explaining he added some Scriptures: "because it was fitting for Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead and to preach in his name penance to all the Gentiles." And Peter shows everywhere in Acts I, II and III, that he understood the Scriptures, citing the Psalms, Joel, Deuteronomy and namely that in "Genesis: In your seed every household in the land shall be blessed." 345

Then Peter saw that in a vision partly because of himself and partly because of others: on account of himself, it was not that he should learn that it was lawful to preach to the Gentiles, but that he would understand that it was the proper moment to preach to them. For, the Lord had said: "You will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all of Judaea, and Samaria, and even to the ends of the earth." He had prescribed an order to the Apostles by those words, that they should first preach in Jerusalem, then in the rest of Judaea, then in Samaria lastly in the regions of the Nations. Up to that point, Peter was irresolute about the time when he should preach to the Gentiles, and whether it would be lawful for them to take the occasion to preach before it was preached to the whole of Judaea and Samaria. The Holy Spirit removed this doubt by showing that vision.

This is how St. Cyril explains the vision: "Immediately Peter understood that the time was at hand to transform shadows into truth." 346 On account of others, however, Peter saw the vision, because there were many converts from the Pharisees to the faith, who reckoned it was not fitting to preach to the

Gentiles, and who also were going to blame the deed of Peter, if he had preached to Cornelius, just as they did after in Acts XI.

Therefore, that Peter should have the best reasons of treating the matter to those condemning him, God showed him this vision, as Chrysostom properly explains: “He said this for the sake of others, and that he should prepare satisfaction to those accusing him.” 347 And in his commentary on this Chapter of Acts, Chrysostom says: “Did not Peter fear to eat? God forbid, rather, he said by divine dispensation this whole thing was done on account of them, who were going to condemn him.”

Chapter XVII: The First Prerogative of Peter is Explained from the Change of his Name

Thus far we have brought to bear those things which pertain to the promise and the establishment of the primacy of Peter: now we bring to bear the singular and different prerogatives in confirmation of the same primacy. Yet we do this more joyfully than the Centuriators, who diligently labor to enumerate the fifteen sins and horrendous falls (as they say) of St. Peter, which they say are present in the divine Scripture by God's plan, lest we might attribute too much to Peter. 348

Although apart from the denial of Christ, which was a very grave sin, it cannot be denied that the rest of the fourteen sins of St. Peter are not to be abhorred, but rather the lies and blasphemies of the Centuriators should be, as we will prove a little later. Meanwhile, for the fourteen false crimes we bring to bear twenty eight true prerogatives.

The first prerogative is the change of name, for in the first Chapter of John's Gospel the Lord says to Peter: "You are Simon son of John, you will be called Cephas." It must be observed in this place with Chrysostom, that God never imposes new names except for very great reasons, and to signify privileges conceded to those whose names are changed. Thus with Abraham since he was called mr6b5a1 [Abram], that is, "lofty father," God wished him to be called mh2r2b5a1 [Abraham], that is, "father of the multitude," 349 that he should become the father of many sons, or rather more nations, and peoples.

Additionally, there is a twofold prerogative in this change of name of Simon into the name of Peter. One, that he changed the name of Peter alone among all the Apostles. For although he imposed a name on the sons of Zebedee, Boanerges [sons of thunder], nevertheless that was rather more a type of surname than a proper name, and they are never again called Boanerges by the Evangelists, but merely James and John as they were before. But Peter is hereafter almost always called Peter. Even Paul often names him Peter, and never calls him anything but Peter or Cephas, just as John often names him, but John is always John, never Boanerges.

The second is that the Lord gave a specific name to him. For in Aramaic Cephas means rock, as we taught above and St. Jerome witnesses. 350 Moreover in Greek it means "head" [kefha/lh,], as Optatus notes. 351 And at length it is one of the most famous names of the Christ. Nothing is more

frequent in the Scriptures except that the Christ is called rock (*petra*). 352 Therefore, when Christ communicates this name to Peter alone, and that name which signifies himself, as a foundation and head of the whole Church, what else did he desire to show other than he made Peter the foundation and head of the Church in his place?

St. Leo says: "This, taken up in consort of undivided unity, that which he was, would have him so named, by saying: 'You are Peter,' etc." 353 And in a sermon he so introduces Christ speaking to Peter: "Just as my Father has manifested to you my divinity, so even I make known to you your excellence because you are Peter, that is, since I am the inviolable rock, I am the cornerstone, I am the one who makes each one, I lay the foundation apart from which no man can place another: nevertheless, you are also rock, because you are solid by my power, that those things which are proper to me may be yours by common participation with me." 354

Chapter XVIII: The Second Prerogative is Explained from the Manner in which the Apostles are enumerated by the Evangelists

The Second prerogative of Peter is that when the Apostles are named by the Evangelists, whether all or some, Peter is always put in the first place. “These are the names of the twelve Apostles: first Simon, who is called Peter, etc.” 355 We read the same in Mark III, Luke VI, and Acts I, but this was not done because Peter was called first by Christ, that is certain. For the Lord first called Andrew, as John witnesses in Chapter I.

But the Centuriators of Magdeburg oppose this and say: “Peter was called first either on account of his manifest gifts, or on account of age since he was exceedingly older than the others, not because he was the head of the others.’ 356 Moreover, they write in another place: “Peter was placed first in the Catalogue because of his fall. Someone ought to be in the first place, and Peter comes to mind on account of his fall.” 357 But nothing validates any of these reasons. Not the first, for either they speak concerning the characteristic gifts which Peter had in rank for the Church, that he singularly receives the keys which made him the foundation of the Church, that he was constituted shepherd of all the sheep of Christ, etc. and thence they speak for our part. Or, they speak on his own personal gifts, that is, on his virtues, and then what they say is false For the Evangelist could not easily know, nor would have dared to judge, who should be the best among the disciples, especially since he knew that John was a virgin while Peter was married; and the same John seemed to be so loved by he Lord, that he was called, “The disciple whom Jesus loved.” Nor would he be ignorant that James the younger was provided with such holiness, that he should be called “just” and “a brother of the Lord” apart form all the others.

Now, when they speak of Peter’s age, they oppose ancient tradition. For Epiphanius says: “Running to meet him, it came to pass that Andrew was first since Peter was younger in age.” 358 Indeed, Jerome says that John was not chosen as the head of the others, because he was almost a boy: but he does not say Peter was older than all the others. 359 Add what the Centuriators themselves say on the life of Andrew, that it is probable that Andrew was older than Peter. 360

Further, to the objection that the fact of his fall is the reason why one should be placed first in the Catalogue, and Peter comes to mind: Rather Peter may be placed first by reason of dignity, and it is clear from the manner in which he is made first among the twelve. Namely, when Matthew calls him first, then he does not call the others second, then another one third, etc., but without any observation of rank he names them.

Therefore among Peter and the rest, Matthew teaches there is an order; that Peter is superior, the rest are lower, but among them he states no order, because they are all equal, as St. Albert the Great notes in his commentary on this citation. From this name *first*, the Fathers deduce the primacy, which is a term the heretics hate so much. For just as rule (*principatus*) comes from prince, and a consulship (*consulatus*) comes from consul, so primacy comes from first (*primus*). Hence, Ambrose says: "Andrew followed the savior first, but he did not receive the primacy, rather Peter." [361] And Augustine says on the last Chapter of John: "Peter, on account of the primacy of his Apostolate, etc." Certainly primacy is not spoken of concerning the one who it is written fell first in the Catalogue, but who duly and meritoriously is written first, on account of his degree and authority.

Secondly, the same is gathered from that which is changed in the order of the others: Peter is always put in the first place. For in Matthew X, Andrew is put after Peter, in Mark III, James is after Peter, in Luke VI, Andrew is named after Peter, but the order is changed for the rest: for Matthew puts Thomas ahead of himself, and Simon the Zealot ahead of Thaddaeus. Luke moreover puts Matthew ahead of Thomas, and Thaddaeus before Simon. Acts of the Apostles places John after Peter, and in the others a great change is discovered.

For equal reason, where two or many are named, Peter is always put first Mark V and Luke VIII: "He did not admit any to follow him, except Peter James and John." And in Luke XXII: "He sent Peter and John." While in Matthew XVII: He took up Peter, James and John." Mark XIII: "Peter, James and John as well as Andrew asked him." In the last Chapter of John: "Simon Peter, Thomas, Nathaniel, and the sons of Zebedee were together, as well as two others from his disciples." You see everywhere Peter is first, which without a doubt cannot be due to the fact of the fall.

Still, there is one citation where Peter is not named in the first place certainly in Galatians II, where it is said: James, Cephas and John. But it is not especially certain whether Paul spoke thus. For Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome read in this citation, both in the text and in their commentary, Peter

James and John. In addition, Chrysostom says in his commentary on this place "Peter, James and John;" indicating that he so read it, and thus it is credible that Paul spoke in that manner.

But if we admit it ought to be read James, Peter and John, it may be said even with St. Anselm and St. Thomas on this place, that it was done because James was the Bishop of Jerusalem, where the Apostles were then, from where Paul is speaking; or that Paul preserved no order in this place.

For in any case, that Paul understood Peter to be greater than James is clear from the very same epistle, in Chapter I, where he says: "Thereafter three years I came to Jerusalem to see Peter." He does not say, "I came to see James," although he was also the bishop of Jerusalem. He says: "Whoever says I am of Paul, I of Apollo, I of Cephas, I of Christ, etc." 362 Obviously he proceeds by ascending and constitutes Peter next under Christ.

Yet Peter is not only put in the first place and called first, rather he is also described everywhere in the Scriptures as a householder (*paterfamilias*), as a general and prince of the rest. For just as it is said in the Apocalypse, "The Devil and his Angels, Michael and his Angels," that is, a general and his soldiers, so also it is said in Mark I:36 "And Simon followed after him, as well as those who were with him." Luke VIII: "Peter and those who were with him spoke, etc." Luke IX: "But Peter and those who were with him." Mark XVI "Tell his disciples and Peter." Acts II: "Peter standing with the eleven." And in the same place: "They said to Peter and the rest of the Apostles." Acts V: "Peter and the Apostles said." 1 Cor. IX: "Do we not have the power to go about with a sister, just as the other Apostles and brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?" Now I ask, was not Cephas a disciple? Was he not an Apostle? Why, therefore, is it said Peter and the Apostles? To Peter and the disciples? The Apostles and Cephas? The only reason is that Peter was the prince and head of the others.

For that reason, St. Ignatius says that Christ came to them after the resurrection, who were around Peter. 363 It pertains to the same prerogative that Peter almost always speaks in the name of all, as in Matthew XIX "Behold, we have left all things behind, etc." Luke XII: "Do you speak this parable to us, or to all?" John VI: "O Lord, to whom shall we go?" On that place, Cyril so writes: "Through one who was in charge, all responded." Hence Chrysostom also calls Peter the "mouth of the Apostles." 364

Chapter XIX: Four Other Prerogatives are Explained form the Gospel of St. Matthew

The third prerogative is related in St. Matthew, where Peter alone walks with the Lord over the waters. 365 St. Bernard speaks concerning this prerogative: "He [Peter] is the counterpart of the Lord, walking over the waters he designated him as the unique vicar of Christ, that he should be in charge of not one people, but all people, and accordingly many waters, and many people." 366 A like thing is related in John, where while the rest of the disciples are coming in a boat to the Lord (who is waiting on the shore), Peter throws himself into the sea, and comes by swimming. St. Bernard says in the same place: "What is this? Truly a sign of Peter's singular Pontificate, by which he does not receive one boat, as the rest, as his own to govern, but the world itself, for the sea is the world, the boats the churches."

The fourth prerogative, is that peculiar revelation made to Peter alone in Matthew XVI, a characteristic privilege, that Peter, the first of all the Apostles being thoroughly instructed by God, recognized the greatest mysteries of our faith, the distinction of the persons in God and the Incarnation. For, though often beforehand Christ had been called the Son of God, as in Matthew XIV when the disciples said: "truly you are the Son of God" and John I when Nathaniel said: "You are the Son of God," nevertheless they called Christ the Son of God in the way in which all the Saints are called Sons of God. But Peter understood that Christ was the true and natural son of God. This is clear in the Greek text, where they are expressed by all the articles having emphasis: su, o Criso,j o` u-io.j tou/ Qeou, zw/ntoj, and from the great approval of Christ, when he said: "Blessed are you, Simon bar-Jonah, because flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father who is in heaven," and even from the testimonies of the Fathers.

For Hilary calls Peter the first confessor of the Son of God, 367 and he also says that he spoke what the human voice had not yet brought forth. 368 He also says that Peter was made worthy, who is the first to have recognized something of God in Christ." Athanasius says that Peter first recognized the divinity of Christ, and only after him did all the other disciples. Other fathers say similar things. 369

The fifth prerogative is in Matthew XVI where it is said: "And the gates of hell will not prevail against it." Whereby the stability of the whole Church is

not only promised forever, but even of the rock upon which the Church is founded, as Origen notes in this place. Therefore, by a special privilege promised to Peter, his seat will never fall into ruin, a promise that, should the other Apostles have had it, the seat of James would still stand in Jerusalem, and John at Ephesus, Matthew at Ethiopia and Andrew in Scythia, but yet all these little by little gave their hands to the gates of hell. Hence, Augustine says against the Donatists: “Count the priests even from that seat of Peter, that is the rock, which the proud gates of hell do not conquer.”

The sixth prerogative is from Matthew XVII, where the Lord bid that the tribute be paid for himself and for Peter: “Give to them for me and you.” From which words was gathered the Apostles, and Peter was preferred before all the others, as Origen, Chrysostom and Jerome write. Furthermore, Chrysostom eloquently asserts in this place that Peter was placed before all the others affected with such honor, that he refused this to be written about himself by his disciple Mark. Therefore Mark most diligently writes of Peter’s denial in his Gospel, but those things which especially establish Peter’s glory, either he omits or very briefly constrains them. In that matter there can be no other reason given, except that Peter wished it thus.

Lastly the author of the questions of the old and new Testament, which is contained in the fourth volume of Augustine’s works, q. 75, says that Christ paid two drachma, one for himself and the other for Peter, because just as in Christ, so also in Peter all are contained: “He set him up to be their head, that he would be the pastor of the Lord’s flock.”

But Jerome in ch. XVIII of Matthew, after he had said the Apostles gathered drachma to pay, Peter was going to be the chief of all, he immediately adds: “The Lord, understanding the reason for the error, cleansed the desire of glory by the contention of humility.” Therefore the Apostles erred reckoning Peter to be the head.

I respond: Indeed the Apostles erred, but not in that they received Peter as one going to be their chief, but because they dreamed of temporal rule. Therefore at no later time did they reckon something promised to them, since they had heard many things about the kingdom of Christ. The Lord corrected his error often, warning that the prefects of the Church would not be like the kings of the Gentiles, and that they should prepare themselves for persecutions and death in this world, not honor and glory.

Chapter XX: Three Other Prerogatives are Explained from the Gospel of Luke

The Seventh prerogative is taken from Luke and John, 370 wherein two miracles of Christ are explained, that took place while Peter was fishing. The first of which manifestly indicates, as St. Augustine shows us, the Church militant, and the second, the Church triumphant; 371 for on that account, the former was done before the resurrection of Christ, and the second afterwards.

Likewise, in the first miracle the nets are not cast to the right side of the boat, nor to the left, lest we would believe that only the good or the bad were to come into the Church, rather it is said indifferently: "Let go the nets," while in the second place, the nets are only cast from the right side of the boat, since only the good are gathered into eternal life.

Besides, in the first the nets broke, and the boat was almost sunk, which signifies schism and heresy, as well as scandal, which compel the Church to be restless: but in the second miracle the nets were not broken, as the Evangelist himself notes, as though looking back to the first fishing, in which the nets were broken. Nor is the boat restless, because in the next life there will be no schisms or scandals.

To this, in the first, the first are understood without number, that it should be fulfilled what was written in the Psalms: "I announced and spoke, and they were multiplied beyond number." 372 But in the second miracle, they were not beyond number, rather a certain number, 153, for none were gathered apart from the number of the elect for the kingdom.

Lastly, in the first miracle the fish are introduced into the boat that is still restless, in the second they are brought onto the shore, so as to designate by that stability, immortal and blessed life.

Therefore, the characteristic prerogative of Peter is that in each boat and each occasion of fishing (which certainly signifies the state of the Church) Peter is always found to be their chief. For in Luke V, when the Lord saw many boats, "he entered into one, which was of Simon," and from that one taught so that we would understand the Church through that boat, whose captain is Peter as where Christ teaches.

Ambrose says: "The Lord boarded only this boat of the Church, in which Peter was constituted as the master." 373 In the same place, it is said to Peter alone: "Cast out into the deep, and let down the nets for capture." Peter is bid

ust as a ship's captain, and a fisher, to lead others to fish. In the same place, the Lord explaining the figure, says to Peter alone: "Do not be afraid, from this moment you will be fishers of men." Thus even in John, Peter says: "I go to fish, and the others said to him: 'We are coming with you.'" 374 Also: "Simon Peter came up and dragged the net onto the land." What else is meant by these figures, than Peter is the one who leads men from the world to faith and the Church militant, and who, reigning, leads and guides them to the Church triumphant?

The Eighth is from Luke XXII, where the Lord said: "Simon, Simon behold Satan has asked for you, that he might sift you just as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith shall not fail. And when thou has been converted strengthen thy brethren." By such words, the Lord clearly shows that Peter is the prince and head of his brethren. Thus the Greek and Latin Fathers express it. Theophylactus says in this place: "Because I have you, as a prince of the disciples, after you will have denied me, strengthen the rest, for it behooves you, who are the rock of the Church after me." Pope St. Leo says: "For the faith of Peter, he properly supplies that the future state of the rest would be more certain, if the mind of the prince were not conquered." 375

The Ninth is, that Christ, after his resurrection, offered himself first of all to the Apostles for Peter to see him, which is gathered from the words of Luke "The Lord has truly risen, and appeared to Simon." 376 There Ambrose notes that Christ appeared to Simon first before anyone else. For before he had appeared to Mary Magdalene, as Mark writes in the last Chapter, and this same thing is manifestly seen in the words of St. Paul: "I handed onto you what I had first received, that Christ died, and was buried, and rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures, that he was seen by Cephas, and afterward the eleven; next he was seen by more than five hundred of the brethren, thereafter by James, and all the Apostles: last of all he was seen by me, as one born out of time." 377 In which place St. John Chrysostom says: "Therefore, he was not seen by all in the beginning, nor even most, but only one, and to that prince worthy by the greatest faith." And further: "Therefore, he first appeared to Peter, for since it was he who had first confessed Christ, for what reason would he not also be the first to see the risen one?" Theophylactus has similar things in this place.

Chapter XXI: Two Others are Explained from the Gospel of St. John

The tenth is, that Peter was first to have his feet washed by the Lord, as Augustine shows in Chapter XIII of John. And although Chrysostom and Theophylactus reckon in the same place that Judas was first and Peter second nevertheless they also gather the primacy of Peter from this place. Indeed, they say that no other was going to suffer apart from Judas, that his feet should be washed before the prince of the Apostles: Moreover, Judas impudently constituted himself before Peter. But just the same, it seems the opinion of Augustine is more probable.

The eleventh is of John XXI, where Christ foretold his death and death on a cross to Peter alone, that just as he had given him his name and imposed upon him a duty, so also he would have him as an ally in death: “When you are old you will extend your hands and another will gird you, and he will lead you whither you do not wish. But he said this,” adds the Evangelist, “Meaning by what death he should give glory to God.” Thereupon, in the same place the Lord adds, speaking to Peter: “Follow me.” Such words they receive from the pastoral office, as Theophylactus shows; follow me, I who lead you to preach and who hand the whole world into your hands. Others receive them as a similitude of death, as Euthymius, who explains that “*sequere me*,” that is “imitate me” by suffering on the cross.

Yet there will be a full commentary, if we join each sentence. When the Lord consigned the sheep to Peter, and foretold the nature of his death, just as when concluding everything in one word he says: “Follow me,” that is, be that which I was both living and dying, lead as a pastor of souls while you live, and afterward through death on the cross be carried over from this world to the Father. And lest we might suspect that these were said to all, the Lord eloquently excludes John, who then followed bodily: “Thus I wish him to remain, what of you? Follow me.”

Chapter XXII: Another Nine Prerogatives are Explained from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians

The Twelfth prerogative is found in Acts I, where Peter, just as a householder, gathers all into one body of disciples and teaches that one must be chosen in place of Judas. Chrysostom says concerning this: “How does Peter acknowledge the flock was consigned to himself? How is he the prince in this choir?” Oecumenius says: “Peter, not James rises, as one to whom presidency of the disciples had been consigned. Nor does anyone oppose the prayer of Peter, but soon they constituted two according to his precept, whom they reckoned most worthy in regard to degree, that God himself should designate one of them.”

The Thirteenth is from Acts II, where after they receive the Holy Spirit Peter is the first of all to promulgate the Gospel, and he converted three thousand men by that first sermon. Chrysostom notes: “Peter was the mouth of all, but the eleven stood near, corroborating these by their testimony, which were taught by him.”

The Fourteenth is from Acts III, where the first miracle in testimony of the faith is done by Peter. Although Peter and John were together, nevertheless Peter alone said to the lame man: “Gold and Silver I have not, but what I do have, I give this to you, etc.” Ambrose remarks beautifully, that Peter rightly published the first miracle by the strengthening of feet, that he should show himself to be the foundation of the whole Church.

The Fifteenth is from Acts V, where Peter just as a supreme and divine judge discerned and condemned the hypocrisy and fraud of Ananias and Saphira, and slew them by his word.

The Sixteenth is from Acts IX, where we read thus: “It came to pass, when Peter passed through all.” In which place Chrysostom says: “Just the same, the general traversing in the army considered which part might be joined, which was in need at his arrival, see that everywhere he runs he is discovered first.”

The Seventeenth is from Acts X, where Peter first of all begins to preach to the Gentiles, just as he was first of all to preach to the Jews. And the vision was shown to him alone, whereby he was advised that it was the time to preach to the Gentiles, where it is also said to him: “Kill and eat.” For it is of the head to

eat, and through eating to drag down food into the stomach, and incorporate it nto itself. Moreover it is signified by this metaphor that it is fitting, that he as nead of the Church should convert infidels, and effect them members of the Church.

But you might object: In Acts VIII didn't Philip convert the heathen eunuch of the queen of Ethiopia? And Didn't Paul in Acts IX speak to the Gentiles, and dispute with the Greeks? Therefore how is Peter said to be the first to have preached to the Gentiles?

I respond: The eunuch was a Proselyte, that is, he had already been converted to Judaism, so was not obviously a Gentile as Cornelius was. For Peter does not lie in Acts XV when he indicates that he was the first to preach to the Gentiles. Thereafter in Acts XI, Luke writes that those, who were dispersed by the tribulations which arose under Stephen, to walk abroad to different regions evangelizing, "speaking a word to no man, but to the Jews alone," and one among them was Philip, as is clear from Acts VIII. Besides, if Philip had already preached to a Gentile man, and no one had condemned him why would Peter later hesitate, whether it might be the time to preach to the Gentiles? Why is he inspired by a heavenly vision for this? Why, after this was heard, some from the Jews gaped, and others accused Peter as of bold nsolence? Add that the Eunuch himself went into Jerusalem to the Temple, and was reading Isaiah in his cart, which are obvious signs of Judaism.

Next, Jerome, speaking about Cornelius, says: "First baptized by the Apostle, he proclaimed salvation of the nations." 378 And Chrysostom: "You see, from where the beginning of the Nations was made? By a pious man who was held worthy in regard to his works." 379 But if, at some time, the Fathers say that the Eunuch whom Philip baptized was a Gentile, they understand it to be so by nation and not by religion.

Concerning Paul there is no difficulty following the Greek manuscripts. In Greek it is not "He spoke to the Nations", but only: "He spoke and disputed against the Greeks." But here he calls Jews Greeks that were born in Greece and spoke Greek, as Chrysostom and Oecumenius show. Besides, it does not have the appearance of truth that Paul would have preached to the Gentiles in Jerusalem itself, especially since no rumor was stirred up by the Judaizers, who afterward so forcefully rose up against Peter, because he had preached to Cornelius.

Nevertheless, seeing that the Latin manuscripts have it that he spoke to the Nations and disputed with the Greeks, it can be said that he spoke and disputed

with the Gentiles, not by bringing them to the faith, but by defending the faith from their calumnies. Therefore, Luke adds in the same place, not that some were converted, but so serious a hatred was roused against Paul, that they sought to kill him. Therefore, the first Father of both Jews and Gentiles was Peter.

The Eighteenth is from Acts XII, where "Prayer was made without ceasing by the Church" for Peter after he had been shut up in prison. Wherefore, he was also liberated by a characteristic miracle. We know before this, both when Stephen was in danger, who afterward was stoned and also James, who in like manner was shut up in the same prison and afterwards killed, that the Church did not make prayer without ceasing for them, as we now see it was done when Peter was in danger. What other reason can be assigned, except that there is a great difference between one member and the head itself when in danger? Therefore, Chrysostom says: "Prayer is a mark of great love and all beseeched the Father, etc."

The Nineteenth prerogative is in Acts XV, where Peter speaks first in council, and James and all the rest follow his opinion, as Jerome teaches in a letter to Augustine. Furthermore, Theodoret, in an epistle to Pope Leo, speaks on the same affair: "Paul, the herald of truth, the trumpet of the most Holy Spirit, ran to the great Peter, that he might bring resolution from him to those contending about the legal institutions at Antioch."

The Twentieth is from Galatians I, where Paul says: "After three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter." In which place Oecumenius says, "Paul went up to Jerusalem to see Peter because he was greater." Chrysostom: "He was the mouth and Prince of the Apostles, and on that account Paul went up to see him apart from any other." 380 Ambrose says: "It was worthy that he should desire to see Peter, because he was first among the Apostles, to whom the Savior had delegated care of the Churches." 381 Jerome in an epistle to Augustine, cited above: "Peter had such authority, that Paul wrote in his epistle 'after three years I came to Jerusalem to see Peter.'" 382

Chapter XXIII: The Other Prerogatives are Proposed from Various Authors

To this point we have reviewed these prerogatives which are gathered from Holy Scripture: we shall now add another eight, which we take from various authors.

Therefore the Twenty first prerogative is, that Christ baptized Peter alone by his hands. Evodius writes, that the successor in the Episcopate of Antioch in a letter, which is titled to. fw/j(that among women, Christ only baptized his Virgin mother, among men only Peter; and Peter baptized Andrew, James, and John, and the rest were baptized by them. Euthymius 383 refers to that, as well as Nicephorus. 384

The Twenty second is that Peter alone was ordained a bishop by Christ: the rest, however, received episcopal consecration from Peter. That is what John Turrecremata 385 proves with many reasons, but particularly two. The first is because either the Lord ordained no one a bishop, or all, or some, or one. It cannot be said he ordained no one. For if that were so, we would have no bishop now, since no man can give to another what he does not have himself Therefore, a non-bishop cannot ordain a bishop, so if the Lord ordained nobody, and did not leave behind Peter ordained a bishop, who afterward ordained Peter and the others?

But that all the Apostles were not immediately ordained by the Lord is obvious. For at least Paul, whom he called from heaven, and made an Apostle he did not ordain a bishop, but bid to be ordained through the imposition of the hands of ministers of the Church, as is clear in Acts XIII, and from Leo's epistle to Dioscorus. 386 Moreover in the volumes of Councils, 79, Leo brings his example of Paul, and from Chrysostom, who says on this place of Acts hat there was a true ordination of Paul, in which place they changed his name t is immediately added, Saul, who is also Paul.

On that account, that James the younger, one of the twelve, was ordained a bishop at Jerusalem by the Apostles, and not immediately by Christ, Anacletus eaches in an epistle, 387 where he writes, that a bishop ought to be ordained by hree bishops, just as James the younger was ordained a bishop by Peter, James he elder and John. Likewise, Clement of Alexandria hands down the same hing, that James was ordained a bishop by Peter, James and John. 388 Jerome says: "James, immediately after the passion of the Lord, was ordained a bishop

by the Apostles at Jerusalem." 389 Nor can it be said this James was not the Apostle from the twelve, for Jerome opposes that in his book against Helvidius and we showed the same thing in another place for the reason that it would not follow that no memory is made of an Apostle from the twelve in the Church.

And the Lord did not ordain some and not ordain others, for that is proved because the Apostles, with the exception of Peter, were equals among themselves, and had no rights over another, and all power that was handed to them, was commonly handed to all, in as much as it can be gathered from the Gospels. Therefore, if the Lord did not ordain none, nor all, nor a portion of some then it follows that he ordained only Peter.

The Second reason is that the Fathers teach everywhere that the Roman Church is the mother of all Churches, and that all bishops had their consecrations and their dignity from her. But it would not seem that this could be the case except in the sense that Peter himself, who was bishop of Rome ordained all the Apostles, and all other bishops, either by himself or through others whom he had ordained. Otherwise, when all the Apostles constituted many bishops in different places, if the Apostles were not made bishops by Peter, certainly a great part of the Episcopate would not deduce their origin from Peter.

Why is it, therefore, that Anacletus says: "In the New Covenant after Christ the Sacerdotal order began from Peter"? Furthermore, he cannot be speaking of a lesser order of Priests, that is of Presbyters. For it is certain that the Apostles were all ordained priests together at the Last Supper, therefore he speaks on the order of greater priests, that is, of bishops, whom he would not correctly say began from Peter, if all the Apostles were immediately ordained bishops by Christ.

Why is it that Cyprian also says, that the Roman Church is the mother and root of the whole Catholic Church? 390 Why is it that Innocent I says in his epistle to the Council of Carthage, 391 "By whom (Peter) the Episcopate and the whole authority of this name emerges?" Likewise what he writes in his epistle to the Council of Miletus: "As many times as the reasoning of faith is brandished, I reckon all our brothers and co-bishops ought to bring no authority except for that which pertains to Peter." 392 What of what Pope Julius I wrote to the Orientals: "How could you not incur blame, if the place from where you receive the honors of consecration, and whence you take up the law of the whole observance is also the seat of blessed Peter, which is for us the mother of Sacerdotal dignity, and should be the teacher of ecclesiastical reason?" 393

Lastly, what of that which St. Leo says: “If he wished for the other princes o be in common with him (Peter), he never gave anything he did not deny tc he others except through Peter.” 394 And again: “The Sacrament of whose office the Lord so wished to pertain to the duty of all the Apostles, that he principally placed it upon the blessed Peter, greatest of all the Apostles, that by him just as a head, he would diffuse his gifts through the whole body”? 395

Yet our adversaries reject this specific argument by saying: “Episcopacy is ncluded in the Apostolate, otherwise it would not be true what Anacletus writes in the aforementioned epistle, that bishops succeed the Apostles; bu Christ made all of them Apostles, not just Peter. Therefore, Christ also ordainec hem bishops, not just Peter. In addition, how is what is said in the Psalms: ‘Le another receive his Episcopate,’ 396 understood concerning Judas the traitor, as Peter explains in Acts I, when Peter did not ordain Judas; therefore Peter dic not ordain all.”

I respond: Episcopacy is contained in the Apostolate, and bishops succeec Apostles, not for the reason that someone who is an Apostle should also be a bishop, (since the Lord chose twelve disciples in Luke VI, and named them Apostles, although it was before he made them priests, still less bishops) herefore, the right of preaching properly pertains to the Apostolate, to which was connected the fullest delegated jurisdiction, such cannot also be said of bishops, because all the Apostles were bishops, nay more they were even the irst bishops of the Church, although they were not ordained. 397

Now I respond to that part about Judas in Psalm CVIII. It is not called an Episcopate the way we now speak of Episcopate, but any prefecture in Hebrew s hd2nqP5 which means a visitation or a prefecture, and it is believable that Peter leputed this Psalm and that name to a prefecture to accommodate the Apostolate of Judas.

Moreover, Luke, relating these in Greek, followed the interpreters of the Septuagint, which turned th.n e.piscoph.n(which is a term that the Interpreters could not understand except as a prefecture in general, since in their time the establishment of the episcopate was still not properly so called. Add what ever Cicero says in a letter where he uses this noun, when he says that he was constituted a bishop by Pompey of the whole of Campania. 398

This response can also be made: that Psalm speaks on a properly called Episcopate, not the one which Judas had, but that which he was going to have if he had not betrayed the Lord.

The twenty-third is that Peter first detected the Heresiarch, Prince and Father of all heretics who would come after, namely Simon Magus, as we read in Acts VIII, and afterward he condemned and destroyed him. It was altogether fitting that the prince and father of the Church should conquer the prince and father of all heretics. Simon was indeed the father of all heretics, as Irenaeus writes. 399

Yet we bring the testimony of the Fathers to bear on this matter, because Calvin holds the contest between St. Peter with Simon Magus to be a fable. 400 Egesippus, and Clement broadly explain the whole history as well as Arnobius who says: “In Rome herself, mistress of all, in which, although men are busied with the practices introduced by King Numa, and the superstitious observances of antiquity, they have nevertheless hastened to give up their fathers’ mode of life and attach themselves to Christian truth. For they had seen the chariot of Simon Magus, and his fiery car, blown into pieces by the mouth of Peter, and vanish when Christ was named. They saw him, I say, trusting in false gods, and abandoned by them in their terror, born headlong by his own weight, lie prostrate with his legs broken.” 401

Damasus relates the same thing in the life of Peter, as well as numerous other fathers. 402 Augustine relates on the matter: “In the city of Rome, the Blessed Apostle Peter destroyed Simon Magus by the true power of almighty God.” 403

Whereby we understand the same Augustine says: “Indeed this is the opinion of many, although many Romans hold that it is false, that the Apostle Peter intended to do battle with Simon Magus on the Lord’s day, on account of the danger of a great trial, since the day before the Church of the same city fasted, and after such a prosperous and glorious outcome followed, it kept the same custom, and several Western Churches imitate it.” 404 Here he did not wish to say the opinion on the contest between Peter and Simon Magus was uncertain, as Calvin reckoned, but on the origin of fasting on the Sabbath. Although the authors cited hand down in unison that Peter fought with Simon at Rome, and conquered him, nevertheless, none hand down that this deed happened on the Lord’s day, neither did they fast the day before, nor did they on that account institute fasting on the Sabbath, concerning which Augustine disputes in that epistle.

The Twenty-fourth is, that Peter placed his chief seat at Rome by divine command. The obvious sign of the Principate of Peter seems to be that when the Apostles were sent by him into the whole world, Peter was sent to that head

of the world, the queen of cities. That is what St. Leo also teaches: “For, when the twelve Apostles, having received the speech of tongues of all by the Holy Spirit, took up the parts of the world distributed to themselves to imbue it with the Gospel, the most Blessed Peter, prince of the Apostolic order, was destined to the capital of the Roman Empire, that the law of truth, which was revealed for the salvation of every nation, he should more efficaciously pour himself out from that head through the whole world.” 405 Also, Maximus the Confessor: ‘In that place where the world had head of empire, there God placed the princes of his kingdom.” But more on this in a following question.

The Twenty-fifth is, that at the end of the life of Peter, Christ himself appeared to Peter, and when the latter asked: “O Lord, where are you going?” he deigned to respond: “I come to Rome to be crucified again.” Egesippus witnesses, along with Ambrose: “By night,” Ambrose says: “he began to enter by the wall, and seeing Christ in his place he ran to the gate, entered the city and said; ‘O Lord, where are you going?’ Christ responded: ‘I come to Rome again to be crucified.’ Peter understood that the response pertained to his own divine cross.” 406

Thereafter St. Gregory relates the same thing, in his explanation of the Penitential Psalms: “He said to Peter, ‘I come to Rome again to be crucified,’ he who had already been crucified in his own person, said he must be crucified in Peter.” What did the Lord wish to show, when he said, to be crucified again in the crucifixion of Peter, except that Peter is his vicar, and that it should be done to Peter, just as it was done to himself? Thus, before he had said to Samuel: “*Non te abjecerunt, sed me, ne regnem super eos.*” 407

Chapter XXIV: The Three Last Prerogatives are Brought to Bear

The Twenty-sixth prerogative is that only those Churches that Peter hac ounded were always held to be Patriarchal and first. Accordingly, among the athers, only three Churches were properly Patriarchal and first; Rome lexandria and Antioch. 408 Neither Luther nor Calvin deny that.

Of old, Jerusalem was held as a fourth patriarchal see for nearly 500 years ut in name, not in fact, which is to say in honor, not in power. For the atriarch of Alexandria not only sat in a second place in Councils, but was ever n charge of all archbishops and bishops of Egypt and Libya: and the Bishop o ntioch not only sat in the third place, but was also in charge of all the rchbishops of the East: The Bishop of Jerusalem was in the fourth place, bu e was in charge of no archbishop or bishop, nay more, that see was subject tc he Archbishop of Caesarea, who was the Metropolitan of Palestine, anc esides that the Antiochene Patriarch was over the whole east, as we said. Tha s so clear from the council of Nicaea, can. 7, where it is discerned that the ishop of Jerusalem should have honor after Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch ut nevertheless, nothing is taken away from the authority of the Metropolitan who was at Caesarea.

For this reason, St. Jerome thus speaks: “You, who seek Ecclesiastical rules nd use the canons of Nicaea, answer me this; does Palestine pertain to the ishop of Alexandria? Unless I am mistaken, there it is discerned that Caesarea s over the capital of Palestine, and Antioch of the whole East. Therefore either ou had ought to relate to the Archbishop of Caesarea, to whom, spurned from our communion, you had known to communicate with us, or if it was judgec ar from expedient, rather more letters should have been directed to Antioch ut I know why you refuse to send to Caesarea and Antioch. You preferred tc ause aggravation by means of busy ears, than to render due honor to your netropolitan.” 409

Here Leo also says: “Juvenal, the Bishop, so as to obtain rule of the rovince of Palestine, believed that he could suffice, and dared to strengthen he insolent through fabricated writings.” 410 Lastly, neither Anacletus, nor eo, nor Gregory cited above, where they enumerate the Patriarchal sees, make ny mention of Jerusalem.

From these afterward the Patriarchate of Constantinople arrives. For in the ime of the Council of Nicaea, Constantinople did not yet exist, still less was i a Patriarchate. For in the twenty-fifth year of Constantine's rule, that is, in the ifth year after the Council of Nicaea, Constantinople had been dedicated, as St erome writes in his Chronicle. Nevertheless, afterward, in the first Council o Constantinople, and thereafter at Chalcedon, the Bishop of Constantinople trie not only to secure a Patriarchate, but even to obtain second place among the Patriarchs. But not before the times of Justinian did he obtain it from the Roman Pontiffs. Moreover, at the time of Justinian, that is, after the year of the Lord and the works of the emperor, and by the permission of the Roman Pontiffs, the bishops of Constantinople and Jerusalem began to be considered in he number of the Patriarchates, without further protest.

After these were so constituted, Calvin wonders, and not without cause why so few, and why in this order the patriarchal sees were gathered. 411 For i you look to antiquity, the see of Jerusalem ought to be placed in the first place and nevertheless it is in the fourth. If you would consider the dignity of the firs bishop, certainly after the Roman See, the see of Ephesus ought to be which was founded by St. Paul, ruled by St. John even to his death. Jerusalem also, in which see James the Apostle the brother of the Lord, first sat, and after him Simon, the brother of the Lord, ought to go before Alexandria, in which Mark he disciple of the Apostles sat. Besides, why should Alexandria go before Antioch, when Antioch was more ancient than Alexandria and at Antioch Peter himself sat, while at Alexandria the disciple of Peter sat?

What if you were to say that Calvin suspected that in constituting the Sees of the Patriarchs, the Council of Nicaea only had the purpose of listing the most noble royal cities? 412 St. Leo the Great would oppose him, who in an Epistle responded to the argument of the Greeks, who asserted that Constantinople ought to be a patriarchal see after Rome, because it was an Imperial See, and hus says: "Let the city of Constantinople have its glory, and while the right hand of God protects it, may it enjoy long-lasting rule in your mercy Nevertheless, there is, on the one hand, the reasoning of secular matters, and on he other hand, of divine affairs. For apart from that rock, which the Lord placed in the foundation, no other construction will be stable." 413 And Gelasius says: "Concerning the royal city, some power is of the secular kingdom, the other distribution of Ecclesiastical dignities. Just as each little city does not diminish the prerogative of the king, thus an imperial presence does not change the measure of religious dispensation." 414

Thereupon, we ask, why there were only three Patriarchal sees constituted when there might be many more noble and royal cities? Thereupon, the most noble and royal cities always were held to be where the seat of the emperor was; but in the times of the Council of Nicaea, the imperial seat in the East was at Nicomedia, which is by far the most famous city of Bithynia. In the West there were Trier and Milan, of which Trier in Transalpine Gaul and Milan in Cisalpine Gaul were considered the most famous cities. Accordingly in the same time of Diocletian sitting at Nicomedia, thence ruled the whole east Maximian governed Italy from Milan, as well as Africa and Illyria Constantius, the father of Constantine, moderated Gaul and Britain from Trier.

Hence, Gelasius says: “We laughed, because they wish a prerogative to be established in Acacia, because the bishop was of a royal city, but did not the Emperor constitute Milan, Ravenna, Sirmium and Trier such many times? Did not the priests of these cities surpass them in their dignities, reputed without measure, in antiquity?” 415 Why therefore were Nicomedia, Trier and Milan not made Patriarchal sees?

Add that the Council of Nicaea did not institute, as Calvin falsely teaches patriarchal sees, rather it only confirmed them. Thus the Council has the words in Canon 6: “The ancient custom endures in Egypt, or Lybia, and Pentapolis that the Bishop of Alexandria should have power over all these.” And below ‘Likewise, however, with Antioch, and the remaining provinces, the honor of each is preserved in the Church.” And below in Canon 7: “Because ancient custom obtained that ancient tradition, that in Heliae, that is, Jerusalem, the honor given to a bishop; consequently he ought to have honor.”

Therefore, the true and only origin of that number of Patriarchal sees is the dignity of Peter. Only those Churches are properly held as Patriarchates where Peter sat. Morever, Peter sat in his own person at Antioch and Rome, while in Alexandria he sat either in himself, as Nicephorus 416 witnesses, or through his disciple Mark, whom he sent in his place, and founded the Church in his name as St. Gregory teaches when he says: “Although there were many Apostles nevertheless, for rule itself, only the seat of the prince of the apostles is valid in authority, which in three places, is one. He lifted up the seat, in which even he deigned to rest and even end his present life: he honored the seat, in which he sent his disciple the Evangelist: he strengthened the seat, in which he sat for seven years, although left it. Therefore, since they are of one man the seat should be made one, to whom three bishops now preside by divine authority whatever good I hear about you, I impute this to me.” 417 In the same place he

says: “He speaks to me about the chair of Peter, who sits upon a chair of Peter etc.” There he affirms that the Bishop of Alexandria sits upon a chair of Peter because Mark, the first bishop of Alexandria, sat in the name of Peter.

St. Leo gives the same reason in a letter: “Nothing should perish from the dignity of the see of Alexandria, in which it merits through St. Mark the Evangelist, the disciple of St. Peter. Likewise the Antiochene Church, in which the name Christian first arose from the first preaching of the Apostle Peter, let it preserve in the paternal rank of constitution placed in the third level, and may it never become lesser.” 418 Likewise Anacletus says in his third Epistle: “The Second See, at Alexandria, was consecrated in the name of Peter by his disciple Mark. Moreover, the Third See at Antioch of the same Blessed Peter the Apostle is held in the name of honor.” Therefore this is the reason of the number of these sees. But the reason for the order is that while all three were sees of Peter, nevertheless he administrated the Roman See in his own person even to his death; while Alexandria was administered through Mark the Evangelist, and Antioch through Evodius.

Therefore, just as Peter is a greater Apostle than Mark the Evangelist, and Mark the Evangelist greater than Evodius, who was neither an Apostle nor an Evangelist, so also the Roman Church surpasses Alexandria, and Alexandria Antioch, in authority and dignity.

The Twenty-seventh is the feast of the Chair of Peter. For the fact that a feast day is celebrated publicly in the Church in honor of the establishment of the Episcopate of Peter, and nothing such as that is done for the sees of the other Apostles, is an argument; that the See of Peter singularly excels all the others, nay more; it is, itself, the only and singular Chair, from which the whole world ought to be taught as Optatus says. 419 Moreover, that the feast of the Chair of Peter is very ancient, can easily be known from the Martyrology of Bede, and from a sermon St. Augustine gave to the people. 420

The Twenty-eighth prerogative is that in the style of letters, after the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, the ancients joined the name of the prince of the Apostles. The Bishop of Nicepolis, Atticus, writes, as is read at the end of the Council of Chalcedon in this place: “What the Latin custom puts into practice must not be done in Canonical epistles, lest some fraud of falsity may rashly be presumed. This has been salubriously reached and constituted by the three hundred eighteen gathered here, that letters so formed according to this calculation, or computation might have the plan, that is, that they ought to take up this computation first with the Greek letters that

rom “of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, this is p(u(a, 421 which respectively by number signify 80th, 400th and 1st. Additionally, the firs etter of Peter the Apostle, that is p, which means the number 80.”

Optatus of Miletus also recalls the format of letters in these words: “The whole world communicates with him (Pope Siricius) and us in the same style o etters, in one society of communion.” 422 And the Council of Miletus, Canor 20, forbids clerics, lest they might go without being accompanied by letter: properly formatted. 423

Chapter XXV: The Primacy of Peter is Confirmed from Testimonies of the Greek and Latin Fathers

It remains that we bring the testimonies of the ancient Fathers to bear fo he primacy of St. Peter. Moreover, it must first be observed, that if the Father aid Peter was the head of the Church, or primate amongst the Apostles, or hel he Church, that ought to be sufficient to show from the opinion of the Father hat it is as we would have it. Our Adversaries affirm by these two names, *hea* (*caput*) and *primacy* (*primatus*) is meant supreme power in the Church. Thu he Centuriators say, that it is a proper mark of Antichrist to have primac (*primatus*] in the Church. 424 And Calvin says: "Certainly, as long as the tru nd pure face of the Church endured, all those names of pride, whereby th Roman See afterward began to grow so haughty, were altogether unheard of.' 425 He speaks there about the terms of "head" and "primacy". And in the sam place he indicates, in the time of Jerome, the true face of the Church stil ndured.

Origen is the first to appear from the Greeks (for I must omit Dionysius Clement the Roman, Anacletus and others like them, because our adversarie lo not receive them), who speaks thus: "Since the chief affair of feeding th heep was handed down to Peter, and upon him just as upon strong ground th Church was founded, the confession of no other power is extended except o harity." 426 Eusebius in his Chronicle of the forty fourth year from the birth o Christ, says: "Peter the Apostle, a Galilaean by nation, and first Pontiff o Christians." 427

There the distinction must be observed which Eusebius places betwee Peter and the bishops of other cities. For he does not say of Peter, "first Bisho of the Romans" as he says in the same place about James: "James, the brothe of the Lord, first bishop ordained from the Apostles of the Church of the peopl of Jerusalem." Moreover he says about Evodius: "Evodius ordained the firs bishop at Antioch." He does not speak thus about Peter, rather "First Pontiff o Christians;" without a doubt that we would understand that James was th Pontiff of one city, but Peter of the whole Christian world. He calls Peter th ame thing in the *Ecclesiastical History*, the most proved and greatest of all th Apostles, the prince and general of the first, and the master of the militia o God. 428 Moreover, what else is it to be the general of the militia of God, tha o be the head of the Church militant?

St. Basil says, speaking on Peter: “That blessed man who was born ahead of the disciples, to whom the keys of the heavenly kingdom were consigned etc.” 429 St. Gregory Nazianzen, wishing to show that there ought to be an order in all things, takes the argument from the Apostles, who, although they were all great, nevertheless had one put in charge: “You see in just the same way from the disciples of Christ, were all great and lofty, and worthy by election, this one is called the rock, and he holds the foundations of what is believed by the faith of the Church, and the remaining disciples bore themselves afterwards with a peaceful spirit.” 430

St. Epiphanius says: “He [Christ] chose Peter, that he should be the leader of the disciples.” And again: “This is the one who heard, ‘Feed my lambs,’ to whom the sheepfold was entrusted.” 431 St. Cyril of Jerusalem calls Peter “the most excellent prince of the Apostles.” 432 St. Cyril of Alexandria says: “As a prince, and head of the rest he first exclaimed: ‘You are Christ, Son of the living God.’” 433 And in *Thesauro* (if we follow St. Thomas in an Opisculum Against the Greeks), he says: “Just as Christ received the scepter of the Church of the Nations from the Father, going forth as a general of Israel, over every principality, and power, over everything whatever it is, that all things would be bent to him: thus both to Peter and his Successors he plainly consigned, and to no other than Peter, Christ what was his in full, but he gave it to him alone.”

St. John Chrysostom says: “He constituted Peter the pastor of the Church that was going to be,” and a little further down: “God alone can concede that the future Church should remain immovable in the face of the attack of so many and so great waves rushing in, whose pastor and head (behold the name of HEAD [CAPUT] that is unheard of for Calvin), a fisherman and without nobility.” And further down: “The Father put Jeremiah over one Nation, but Christ put this one over the whole world.” 434 And in a homily on the last Chapter of St. John, he repeats it several times, that care of the brethren, that is the Apostles, was entrusted to Peter, as well as that of the whole world.

Euthymius repeats twice on the last Chapter of John, that Peter received presidency over all the Apostles. And he says in the same place: “If you were to say, how did James receive the see of Jerusalem? I respond, this one (Peter) was constituted the master of the whole world.” There Euthymius teaches just as James was the bishop of Jerusalem, so Peter was the bishop of the whole world.

Theophylactus says, on that verse: “Strengthen thy brethren,” in Luke XXII: “The plain meaning of this verse is understood. Because I have you as a

prince of disciples, after you will have wept on account of denying me, and wil have done penance, strengthen the others; it is fitting for you, because after me you are the rock and foundation of the Church." And a bit further: "You, c Peter, having converted, you will be a good example of penance to all, whc since you were an Apostle and denied, you again received primacy over all, and prefecture of the world." Here also you hear the name of PRIMACY [PRIMATUS] unheard of to Calvin. Next, Oecumenius says: "Peter rises, no James, and just as if more fervent and just as if that presidency of the disciples had been consigned to him." 435

Hugh Etherianus, or Heretrianus, around the year 1160, in the time of the Emperor Emmanuel, wrote books on the procession of the Holy Spirit against his own Greeks: in which he speaks thus: "From the very evidence of the matter, it seems clear, that Christ constituted Peter and his successors in perpetuity as prince and head not only of the Latins and Greeks, of the West and the whole North, but even of Armenians, Arabs, Jews, Medianites and o the whole world, even over the southern climates." 436

From the Latins, St. Cyprian says, 437 that Peter refused to say when he was condemned by Paul, that he held the primacy, and he was to be obeyed From which words, he indicates that he had the primacy, and could commanc all others. And, lest by chance our adversaries might say that Peter, in the opinion of Cyprian, did not say he had the primacy, because he would have spoken falsely, let us listen to Augustine explain this passage of Cyprian: "The same Cyprian, in his epistle to Quintus so speaks; 'For Peter (whom the Lorc first chose, and upon whom he built his Church), when Paul disputed with him on circumcision, afterward did not haughtily vindicate himself, or arrogantly assume that he should say he held the primacy, and thus should be obeyed by newcomers . . . Behold, where Cyprian records what we also learn in holy Scripture, that the Apostle Peter, in whom the primacy of the Apostles shines with such exceeding grace, was corrected by the later Apostle, Paul, when he adopted a custom in the matter of circumcision at variance with the demands o truth. If it was possible for Peter at some point to not walk uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, so as to compel the Gentiles to Judaize, etc." 438 The same St. Cyprian, in a book on the unity of the Church, or on the simplicity o Prelates (as we cited it above) makes Peter the head, the font, the root of the whole Church. And he says on the same in an epistle to Juba: "We hold fast tc one head and root of the Church." Therefore, Cyprian joyfully usurps these two erms, which Calvin had said were unheard of in the ancient Church. St

Maximus the Confessor says: “Of how many merits was Peter with his Lord hat later the rule of the little boat, the governance of the whole Church should be handed over to him?” 439

Optatus says: “The chair is one, and you would not dare to deny that you know it was to Peter, first in the city of Rome, that the chair was conferred where Peter the head of all the Apostles sat, thence called Cephas, in such a one he unity of the chair is preserved by all, nor do the remaining Apostles defend ndividual chairs, each to himself, that one would already be a schismatic and a sinner who should place another chair against that singular one. Therefore the chair is one, which is the first from the dowry. In that Peter first sat, Linus succeeded him, then Clement, Linus, etc.” 440 You see the name of HEAD and CHAIR [CATHEDRA] of Peter, and of successors, a unique chair of the whole Church is named, which was altogether unheard of to Calvin.

St. Ambrose in the last Chapter of Luke calls Peter the VICAR of the love of Christ towards us, and says that he is the prelate of all. And again he says ‘Andrew did not receive the primacy, rather Peter did.” 441 Behold again that erm unheard of to Calvin. He says the same about care of the Church of God entrusted to Peter by the Lord, in Chapter 1 to the Galatians, and at length in Sermon 11: “The Lord boards this boat of the Church alone, in which Peter is constituted the master, while the Lord says: ‘Upon this rock I will build my Church.’ Which boat so floats into the deep of this world, that while the world ays waste all whom it receives, will be saved unharmed, the figure of which we have already seen in the old Testament? Just as the ark of Noah, while the world shipwrecked, preserved unharmed all whom it had taken up, so the Church of Peter while the world burns, will manifest unharmed all whom i embraces. And just as then, the flood carried on the dove brought the sign of peace, so even while the judgment is carried out Christ shall bring the joy of peace to the Church of Peter.”

St. Jerome says: “Among the twelve one was chosen, constituted as the HEAD so that the occasion of schism should be abolished. But why was John a virgin, not chosen? It was conferred to age, because Peter was older, lest still an adolescent and nearly boy should be preferred to men of age.” 442 Thus you also hear the name of head, which was unheard of to Calvin.

St. Augustine says everywhere that Peter held the primacy, and especially n *De Baptismo*. Where he also adds: “I reckon it is no slight to Cyprian to compare him with Peter with regard to his crown of martyrdom; I rather ought o fear lest I show disrespect towards Peter. For who can be ignorant that the

primacy of his apostleship is to be preferred to any episcopate whatever? Yet granting the difference in the dignity of their sees, yet they have the same glory in their martyrdom." 443

It must be observed in this citation, altogether much from the opinion of Augustine, that the chair of Peter excels the chairs of particular bishops although he fears lest it would seem he makes some contumacy against Peter, if he would compare Cyprian with him, who was still not only a bishop, but also the first of the whole of Africa.

It must also be noted that Augustine thought the martyrdom of Cyprian can be compared with the Martyrdom of Peter, although Peter's should be much more noble, because the palms of the martyrs are all of the same type: but the seat of Cyprian cannot be compared with the See of Peter, because the See of Peter is not only more noble than Cyprian's, but is, in a certain measure, of a different kind, for they differ, as a whole and a part. Not only was Peter the Bishop of Rome, as Cyprian was of Carthage, but Peter was also the Pontiff of the whole world, while Cyprian was the pontiff of only one part of it.

Augustine says the same thing on the penance of Peter, saying: "It cures the plague of the whole body of the Church in its head, it composes the health of all the members in its crown, etc." 444

The author of the questions of the old and new testament, which are found in volume four of the works of Augustine, says: "Just as in the savior were origins of office, so even after the Savior all are contained in Peter. He constituted him as head of all, that he should be the shepherd of the Lord's flock." And below that: "It is manifest, in Peter all are contained, therefore asking for Peter, is understood to ask for all things. Therefore the people are always either corrupted or praised in their leader."

St. Leo everywhere teaches this, especially in Sermon 3: "From the whole world, one Peter is chosen, who is put in charge both of the calling of all Nations and over all the Apostles and Fathers of the Church, that each in the people of God might be priests, and many shepherds, nevertheless, Peter properly rules all, whom Christ principally rules." 445 And he also says: "It was provided in the great disposition, lest all should claim all things for themselves, rather that each one should be in each province, among whose brethren the first teaching might be held: And again, certain men among the elders were constituted in the greater cities that they might receive greater care by whom the care of the universal Church will be brought to the one See of

Peter, and nothing shall ever leave from his head." 446 Behold, you also have the name of head, and care of the universal Church.

St. Prosper of Aquitaine:

O Rome, See of Peter, which for pastoral honor
Made head in the world, whatever it doth not possess by arms
It maintains by religion, etc.

Arator, in Chapter 1, of Acts, speaks thus on Peter:

-to whom the lamb had handed
Having suffered he saved such sheep, and the whole world
He increases the flock by this shepherd,
In which office he rises supreme, etc. 447

St. Gregory the Great says: "Since everyone knows the Gospel, it is clear that, the Lord's voice had consigned the care of the whole Church to the most blessed Peter, Prince of all the Apostles." And below: "Behold the keys of the heavenly kingdom he receives, the power of binding and loosing is given him the care of the whole Church to him, and the rule is granted." 448

Bede says: "He saw the simplicity of his heart, he saw the sublimity of the soul, of him who was rightly to be put over the whole Church." 449 And in another homily: "Therefore Blessed Peter, who confessed Christ with true faith but followed by love, specially receives the keys of the kingdom of heaven and the rule of judicial power, that all believers through the world would understand, that whoever would merely separate themselves from the unity or faith of that society in any way, such men are neither absolved neither from the bonds of their sins nor can they go in the door of the kingdom of heaven." 450

St. Bernard teaches: "The place in which you stand is holy ground, the place of Peter, the place of the Prince of the Apostles, where his feet stood; it is his place, whom the Lord constituted as master of his house and the prince of his every possession." 451 And again: "The counterpart of the Lord walking over the water, he designated the unique Vicar of Christ, who ought not be over one people, but all, accordingly many waters, many people." 452

By these twenty-four testimonies of the Fathers, just like the twenty-four voices of the Elders in the book of the Apocalypse, the consensus of the ancient Church is obviously shown, both Greek and Latin, against which no response can be made altogether, except what Luther and Calvin say about Pope Leo that they suffered the concerns of men and were deceived.

But if that were so, why did no man ever correct them? Certainly Epiphanius, Theodoret, Augustine and Damascene, detected the token bearers of heresies and heretics, and in their number they even placed Origen. But why

I ask, in the errors of Origen, did they not record what he said about Peter being handed the chief duty to feed the sheep by Christ? Why do they not number amongst the heretics Cyprian, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Optatus, Leo, and others since they so clearly taught that Peter held primacy and was head of the whole Church and that the whole world had been entrusted to him? Certainly such an error, which is for Antichrist, as they say, which is so obviously favored by the pens of all their writers, would behoove them to turn up.

Why do the fathers shout as though with one mouth, that Ecclesiastical primacy was given to him by Christ, why do the same testify to so many characteristic prerogatives of Peter; why do we find in the sacred and divine scripture, that this very primacy was so liberally promised, which we see was faithfully given? Certainly we will be exceedingly obstinate, if we were to close our eyes against so clear a light of truth.

Chapter XXVI: The Argument from a Comparison of Peter with James is Refuted

The Arguments, which our adversaries usually make against the primacy o Peter, are for the most part answered in the explication of two passages o Scripture, Matthew XVI and the last Chapter of John, where we have treated o he rock, the keys and the sheep. Nevertheless, three things remain. One on a comparison of Peter with James: the second, from a comparison of the same with Paul: lastly, the argument on the foul falls of Peter to be abhorred, which he Holy Spirit wished to be committed to letter by divine counsel, lest we would render too much to the Apostle Peter.

Now the first argument is of Luther, from his book on the power of the Pope, where he tries to prove that James was greater than Peter for these reasons. First: “Christ was Bishop of Jerusalem, not Rome, and his apostles were priests: therefore James, who after the passion of Christ was assigned the episcopate, succeeded Christ, or certainly was his Vicar, not Peter.” Thereupon ‘Jerusalem is the mother of all Churches; for ‘the law will go out from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.’ Therefore James is father of al Churches, not Peter.” On that account: “The Council of Nicaea gave primacy to he bishop of Jerusalem, and confirmed that from ancient custom and radition.”

We can add two serious testimonies. One of Clement the Roman, quoted by Eusebius: “Peter, James and John, after the Assumption of the Savior, although given preference by him in nearly all things, nevertheless they did not claim glory for themselves; rather James, who was called Just, they established as bishop of the Apostles.” 453 Luther regarded this in his book on the power o he Pope, when he said: “Peter, James and John, rejected the primacy, and they constituted James the younger.

Another is of Chrysostom, who says: “See the modesty of James. He received the duty of bishop of Jerusalem, and nevertheless says nothing Consider, moreover, even the singular modesty of the other disciples, they concede to him by agreement, lest disputing amongst themselves they migh hesitate.” 454

I respond to the first argument: Christ was not the bishop of any particular city, rather, he was and is the Pontiff not only of Jerusalem, but of the whole Church: Nor does anyone succeed him, since he always lives. Next, it was

more fitting for his general Vicar, that he should constitute somewhere else besides at Jerusalem, because just as through the coming of Christ the law and priesthood were changed, so even it was fitting that the place of the high priest should be changed, and truly all things would be made new. Moreover, by chance the temple and Jerusalem were to be overturned and burned in short order after the Ascension of the Lord.

To the second argument I say: the Church of Jerusalem is the mother of all Churches in antiquity, and distinguished by many privileges, on account of the presence of the Lord and the Apostles, which it had for a long time and especially on account of the mysteries of our redemption completed and consummated in that place; but still this is nothing prejudicial to the primacy of Peter. For just the same, James was the pastor and bishop of Jerusalem, so Peter was the pastor and bishop of the whole Church; and hence even of Jerusalem which is a portion of the universal Church. Thus Chrysostom and Euthymius answer this argument, 455 whereby St. Bernard takes their arguments, saying 'James, content with one Jerusalem, yielded all to Peter." 456

To the third argument of Luther, I respond: Luther did not read the Council of Nicaea right. For, as we proved above, in the Council of Nicaea, the fourth place is given to the bishop of Jerusalem among the Patriarchs, in as much as it was an honorary concession, but no place was given in regard to true jurisdiction. Therefore, as a simple bishop he is subjected to the bishop of Caesarea, the Metropolitan for the whole of Palestine.

Now I respond to the testimony of Eusebius: That citation of Eusebius has been corrupted without any doubt. For although it is in the Codex of Basel, the version of Ruffinus contains the words which we cited above; nevertheless, in the Cologne version, edited by a Catholic man, the name primacy is not contained, and for in place of the words: "*Apostolorum Episcopum*,' '*Hierosolymorum Episcopum*." are contained. 457

Such a reading agrees especially with Nicephorus, and while alleging this citation in book 2, Chapter 3, still it does not agree with the opinion of Eusebius in the same book, of the Ecclesiastical History, where he says Peter was the greatest apostle, and the prince of the first.

Lastly it agrees with what is in the Greek Codex, both from the Vatican Library, and the recent edition of Paris. Thus the Greek is contained in each text: "Pe,tron ga,r fh`si kai. Ia,cobon kai. Iwa`nnen meta. th.n ana,lhyin tou. Swteroj w`j a/n kai. u`po. tou/ Kuri,ou protetimhme.nouj me. evpidica, zesqai lo.xhj avlla, Ia.cwbon to.n di.coton evpi,shpon Ieroslu,mwn e`le,sqai)"

Therefore, Clement of Alexandria does not say that Peter, James and John conferred primacy of the whole Church upon James the younger, and made him a bishop of the Apostles, which is most absurd, but he merely says the Apostles in particular did not seek their own glory, and therefore did not assume for themselves the most noble Episcopate of them all in that time, but conferred it upon James the younger. Therefore, although the Episcopate of one city would not derogate from the primacy, nevertheless it was no small glory to be made bishop of Jerusalem at that time, in which there was no particular Episcopate more noble than it.

To the citation of Chrysostom, I say that he speaks on the seat of a particular bishop, when he says: "The Apostles conferred the see upon James." For Chrysostom absolutely puts Peter ahead of James, which is manifest from many of his citations. For in his last homily of John on the words "Follow me," he says: "By such words, again he shows care and familiar affection for him. What if someone were to inquire how James received the seat of Jerusalem? I would respond that he [Christ] constituted this Peter teacher of the whole world."

Likewise, Chrysostom says, after these words which are thrown out in the objection, adding about Peter: "Rightly, he first seizes upon the authority of all in this business, that he might have all in hand. Christ said to this one: "And when thou are converted, strengthen thy brethren." 458

Chapter XXVII: On the Comparison of Peter with Paul

The second argument is taken from the fact that Paul is called an Apostle through an antinomasia; thence it appears to follow, that he, rather more than Peter, was made Prince of the Apostles. “It happened that on ancient seals whereby diplomas of the supreme Pontiff were signed, that images of Peter and Paul were discovered, but the latter on the right and the former on the left. But Thomas also observes this fact in the epistle to the Galatians, in the first *lectio* as well as Peter Damian in a treatise on this matter.”

I respond: Paul is called an Apostle by an antinomasia, not because he was greater than Peter with respect to power or authority, but for two other causes which never detract from the primacy of Peter. One was, because he wrote many things, and was more learned and wiser in the other matters. Then indeed we nearly call him an Apostle by Antinomasia, when we cite the letters he wrote. The second was, because it pertains properly to the Apostle as it is for an Apostle to plant the faith. Moreover, Paul planted the faith in many more places than any other. For the remaining Apostles were sent to certain provinces, while Paul was sent to the Gentiles, without any determination of province. And he speaks about himself: “I have labored more than all.” 459

Jerome also witnesses in Chapter 5 of Amos, concerning those words: “He who calls the waters of the sea, and pours them over the face of the earth,” that not only did Paul plant the faith of Christ throughout that whole very long journey, which went from Jerusalem even to Croatia, as Paul himself also says 460 but even from the Red Sea to the ocean, through nearly the whole world, as beforehand the earth had been wanting for the zeal of preaching. Therefore, in that matter, by what is proper of an Apostle, Paul excelled, and just as Peter is called the Prince of the Apostles, because he was established as the head and shepherd of the sheep, so also Paul can be called the Prince of the Apostles because he carried out the Apostolic duty most excellently. In the same manner Virgil is called the prince of Poets, and Cicero the prince of Orators.

St. Augustine embraces each reasoning in a few words: “When he is called the Apostle, and some Apostle is not named, no one is understood apart from Paul, because he is more known in many epistles and labored more than all the others.” 461

Moreover, to the objection on the images of Peter and of Paul, that they customarily so arrange it, that Paul is seen to the right of Peter, can be answered in many ways. Therefore, the first, although it is sufficiently certain, that Peter was greater than Paul in regard to authority, as we taught above from the testimony of the Fathers, 462 still, it is certain, that Paul is placed before Peter in all names, but this impedes nothing from the Roman Pontiffs or even from the pontificate of Peter himself. Not even to the Roman Pontiffs, because they acknowledge both Peter and Paul as a predecessor and parent. Accordingly each Apostle founded a Church at Rome and governed it, as among others Irenaeus observes, 463 and each ended in the city by martyrdom. Therefore all the glory of Paul pertains to the Roman Pontiffs. The supreme dignity and authority of Paul also does not check the pontificate of Peter, because it was extraordinary, such as it was.

For that reason, it is just like the people of Israel; Moses was older than Aaron, and just the same Aaron truly and properly was the high priest and not Moses, but the children of Aaron succeeded in that supreme dignity, because the power of Moses was extraordinary, but of Aaron it was ordinary: so also if we were to admit by an extraordinary privilege Paul was greater than Peter, we would not on that count deny that Peter was the ordinary and supreme Pontiff of the Church.

Thereupon, the response can be made, that it is not perpetual, that in the ancient images Paul takes up the right side. Accordingly in those which are still in Rome, as in certain ones Paul is discerned at the right, so in several others he is seen on the left, and as in charters Paul occupies the right, so also in coins he occupies the left.

And perhaps by design, that which the fathers observe, that from the two supreme Apostles they put only one before the other. Without a doubt, the very manner should signify that these Apostles are either equal amongst themselves or certainly they do not know whether one is better than the other. For although Peter is greater in power, Paul is greater in wisdom: as St. Maximus elegantly preaches, that Peter holds the key of power, but to Paul holds that of wisdom 464

Hence, St. Leo says: “These, the grace of God has carried to such a height among all the members of the Church, that they in the body, whose head is Christ, it constituted as a twin light of the eyes, on whose merits and virtues there is nothing different, we ought to think distinguished, because them ever by election are equal, and similar labor, and their end makes them equals.” 465

And St. Maximus says: “Similarly, Blessed Peter and Paul emanate among all and they excel all by a certain peculiar prerogative: but among themselves, who is before the other is uncertain. I reckon indeed that these are equal in regard to merits, because they are equal in regard to their suffering.” 466 St. Gregory says: “Paul the Apostle is the brother of Peter first in the Apostolic rule.” 467

The third response can also be applied. For, as Anthony Nebrissensis records in an annotation to five hundred places of Scripture, when two fall together, it was once observed, that the older and more honored should be at the left; but the younger confined to the right side, and something would precede to yield in the sign. Thereupon, those who are at the sides [*laterones*] and by contraction, thieves [*latrones*] those who covered the right side of more noble men for the sake of their defense. He proves that by many arguments, but especially from the testimony of two famous Poets. For Ovid says on an old man:

> Et medius juvenum non indignantibus illis,
> Ibat et interior si comes unus erat. 468

Next, he is said to be more intimate, who is at the left side, as we learn from Virgil, who says in the Aeneid about Cloantho, who sailed to the left side of Gyae:

> Ille inter navemque Gyae scopulosque sonantes
> radit iter laevum interior, subitusque priorem praeterrit. 469

We can add the testimony of Eusebius, who writes in the life of Constantine, that he saw Constantine as a youth in Palestine going to the province with the elder Augustus, and always marched along his right. Nor can there be any doubt, whether Constantine was a youth, and almost a privatus ir should be in a less honored place than the elder Augustus.

Nor is what Ambrose 470 says opposed to these, nor Jerome, 471 that to sit at the right is a greater sign of honor. For it is absolutely more honorable at the right, and especially in seats gathered by right order. That if two seats might be placed to the wall, and one does not cover the other, there can be no doubt whether the right ought to be held to be more excellent: nevertheless there is a second reason from the assault, when one covers the side of another with his body.

No, therefore, it is believable in the beginning that Paul began at the right of Peter, as a younger and lesser; for that reason in pontifical charters Paul is thus placed to the right of Peter, that he should go before him, and nearly cover the whole which is an argument on the obedience in Paul, and the dignity ir

Peter. Moreover, what afterward began to be designated to the right, even when he did not cover Peter, or since Christ, or the Blessed Virgin hold the middle place: and it appears to have been done from inexperience, without a doubt they had seen Paul depicted thus somewhere at the right, nor did they notice that he was at the right to cover Peter; he merely reckoned it was done on account of honor done for Paul, and for that reason, even in seats, or when they might stand much amongst themselves, to give the right side to Paul.

It remains that, not on account of the honor of Paul, that it was done by the Fathers; or thence could be proven, that in all other matters Peter is put before Paul. If they must be named, Peter goes before; if they are invoked in prayers Peter goes before, if a feast day is celebrated in their honor, Peter is first. Why therefore, in images is that otherwise perpetual order changed?

Next, if this is not proved from someplace, it can be admitted that for the sake of honor that Paul is placed to the right of Peter in signs and images, and this seems to be for three reasons. First, because he appears to be of more profit to the Church than Peter, for he led many from the Gentiles to the faith of Christ; he traveled to more provinces with the greatest labor, and left behind many writings, and these are very useful to us.

But the Church in cultivating the memory of the Saints, does not so look upon degree of honor, which they had on earth, as upon the advantage which they brought to the next generation. Therefore, since for the sake of gratitude she honors them, she brings a greater devotion to those, whom she owes more. Certainly Stephen and Lawrence the Deacon were such, the former of which ministered more than St. James as a bishop and apostle, the latter, more than St Sixtus, a Roman Pontiff, and still the Church honors Stephen more than James and Laurence more than Sixtus, because these martyrs are the most famous of these Deacons and marvelously light the way for the whole Church.

For equal reason, St. Jerome and St. Thomas Aquinas were simple priests Anthony of the desert, Benedict and Francis, were not even Priests, and nevertheless, in regard to veneration, they are put forth by the Church ahead of many holy bishops, Martyrs, and even Supreme Pontiffs, because in their written works, they are advantageous to the Church by the establishment of a great many of the religious orders.

The second reason is that Paul was especially the Doctor of the Gentiles Peter of the Jews, that therefore the Church would signify that the Gentiles were at length put ahead of the Jews, by that which he said: “The greater will serve the lesser,” thus Paul was put ahead of Peter.

The third reason can be, because Peter was called by Christ while he was still in this mortal life, and for that reason is placed on the left, while Paul was called from heaven by Christ in his glorified body, and while reigning and seated at the right of the Father. Moreover, this reasoning Peter Damian also touches upon in an epistle to Desiderius, when he writes on this very question Innocent III and St. Thomas also speak on it. 472

Peter Damian adds also a fourth reason, that certainly Paul was from the tribe of Benjamin, and in the very matter Benjamin was shown and expressly by a type in the Scriptures: hence, although Benjamin was last amongst his brothers, nevertheless he was called to the right hand of his father, and was put before all the brethren by Joseph. 473

Chapter XXVIII: The Objection of the Fifteen Sins of St. Peter is Refuted

The last argument is taken from the dreadful falls of St. Peter, which the Centuriators of Magdeburg enumerate. 474 They also say that the memory of these were handed down by the counsel of the Holy Spirit, lest too much be granted to Peter, which God foresaw was going to happen in future ages.

The first fall that they bring, is found in Matthew XIV from the curiosity of Peter, as they say, he sought from the Lord, that he should be called forth onto the sea, and therefore was later punished, and fell into greater sins certainly wavering.

I respond: There is no sin of Peter in this place, rather more, singular faith For if Peter had sinned by asking that he should be called forth onto the sea, he would not have obtained what he asked for. For the miracles of God do not cooperate with our sins. For this reason, St. Maximus says: "This is Peter, who was so trusting of Christ, that the sea proved itself subject to his footprints. For new steps were given to him in the waves by his Lord, as faithful he asked, so beloved he merits. It seemed that he was afraid on account of this alone, that human frailty recognized how great a distance it was between the Lord and the servant." And below: "Truly blessed faith of Peter, and while he wavered wondrous, whom dread of the danger could not disturb. Therefore, by shouting while he sank, 'O Lord, save me,' he despaired of himself, not the Lord when he doubted, lest someone would argue this fear of the most glorious Peter was a vice, etc." 475

Secondly, they place what Peter said to Christ in Matthew XVI: "Far be it O Lord, may it not be so for you." The Centuriators argue that by these words St. Peter committed a foul and dreadful fall. "By these words a grievous fall is described, in which he merited eternal damnation, unless he were to be retrieved by the vastness of Christ's mercy. Nor is there a doubt, whether what he had asked in earnest was a sin."

I respond: By far St. Jerome reckoned this event otherwise. For he says commenting on the 14th Chapter of St. Matthew: "In all places, Peter is discovered with the most ardent faith. The disciples, after being asked whom men said Jesus was, Peter confessed that he was the Son of God: wishing to

forbid him to continue to his passion, although he erred in sense, nevertheless he did not err in affection." And he says in the sixteenth Chapter: "It seems to me, this error of the Apostle comes from a feeling of piety, since will never appear in tune with the Devil."

The third sin they bring to the fore is what Peter says in Matthew XVII: "O Lord, it is good for us to be here, if you wish, let us make here three tents, etc.' Now the Centuriators say: "Peter sinned, because the memory of this thing, and the cult he would think to establish outside the word of God; nay more, even the voice of the heavenly Father castigates Peter's superstition."

I respond: that Peter in no way sinned is clear from Mark Chapter 9, which says: "He did not know what to say, they were indeed extremely terrified.' Therefore Peter was taken up in some measure outside himself, when he said these things, and although in such an excess of mind he could have erred certainly he could not sin in any way. Nay more, Chrysostom teaches on this citation, that Peter's words proceed from very great fervor: "You see with what fervor he burned for Christ, thus you ought not seek how prudently he exhorted, but rather how fervent he was in the charity of Christ, and how inflamed he was."

Besides it is a wonder how a new cult in memory of the transfiguration should smell of superstition to the Centuriators, since Peter clearly said: "It is good for us to be here," and hence "tents," not in memory of a past thing, rather he wished to erect tents for the present dwelling with the glorious Christ. Wherefore St. Leo says, that what Peter asked was good, but of a lesser order because it was not yet the time to come up into his glory. 476 Nevertheless, he did not sin in begging for the glory before its time, because he did not know what he said.

The fourth fall they bring, is that Peter was the one, and perhaps not the last from their number, who agitated the question of who was going to be the greatest of them; the ignorance and ambition of which Christ was compelled to repress with a great discourse in Matthew XVIII.

Yet, Scripture nowhere says that Peter was in their number, and the Fathers commenting on Chapter eighteen of St. Matthew, namely Origen, Chrysostom Jerome and others, all eloquently teach, that not Peter, but the other disciples advanced the question, because they suspected Peter was put before all the others, and this very thing is gathered from the Gospel. For when he said lastly in Chapter Seventeen that Peter was sent to the sea, they added in the beginning of Chapter XVIII: In that hour the disciples came to Jesus, saying: "Who do

you reckon is greater?" By such words it indicates, that while Peter was absent that question was advanced. Accordingly in that hour, whereby Peter was sent away to the sea, the rest of the disciples were present with the Lord.

The fifth fall the Centuriators bring, is found in Matthew XVIII. Peter wished to restrict the remission o sins to the number seven, saying: "How often will my brother sin against me, and I should still forgive him? Even to seven times?" I respond: These are puerile trifles nor did Peter wish to restrict anything, but asked a question of his master.

The sixth fall they constitute against him is in Matthew XIX: Peter broke out in these words: "Behold we have left all things behind, what will we receive?" There it seems to them that Peter dreamed of certain carnal rewards and even spoke arrogantly. Let us hear the commentary of Chrysostom: "He does not speak by ambition, or inane glory, but that he might lead in the people of the poor." The Lord himself also does not convict Peter as of sin, but rather great rewards are promised to him.

They enumerate for the seventh fall, what Peter says in John XIII: "You will never wash my feet," they say this is a certain ignorance and by a depraved devotion he denies that he is going to allow that Christ shall wash his feet."

I respond: The Fathers by far judge differently about the acts of Peter. St Augustine says here that Peter acted in refusing it, which every other Apostle did. St. John Chrysostom notes on this citation: "It was not an argument of small love or reverence, but on account of excessive love he spoke thus.' Likewise, "By vehemently refusing, Peter was also more vehement in permitting, both were done out of love." St. Basil, in a sermon on the judgment of God, which is put forth in morals, says on the matter: "He gave nothing meaning sin or contempt, but rather he used the most excellent honor towards the Lord, showing the reverence agreeable of a servant and disciple." St. Cyril says: "Rightly, under such a weight of the matter, the faithful disciple became very scared, and using for himself the fruit of the customary reverence, he refused." 477

They would have it that the Eighth fall is what Peter said in Matthew XXVI: "Even if I must die with you, I will not deny you." It seems that he alleged the Lord to be a liar, who had predicted he was going to deny him.

But let us hear Jerome on this citation: "It is not rashness, nor a lie, rather the faith of the Apostle Peter, even burning with affection toward the Savior.' And Chrysostom: "For what reason did it happen to you? Certainly from much

ove, and much desire." Therefore there was either no fall, or it was an excess of piety and love.

Now they would have it that the Ninth is that he slept when he was bidden to watch in the garden. But the Evangelist excuses him and the remaining Apostles, saying: "For their eyes were heavy." And rightly, although they should have watched much of the night, I do not see why it was so grave a sin to be conquered by sleep.

They enumerate the tenth fall, from Matthew XXVI. Peter cut off the ear of Malchus: "Against the command of Christ," the Centuriators say, "he boldly used a sword, and in an impious attempt, cut off the ear of Malchus, the minister of the High Priest." And further on they say: "With violent force, he [Peter] tried to impede the aforesaid counsel of God in Scripture, in as much as he could."

But in the first place it is a lie to say that Peter used a sword against the command of Christ. The Lord had said nothing about the use of the sword before, apart from that which is contained in Luke: "Whoever does not have a sword, let him sell his tunic and buy one." 478 And when the disciples said 'Behold there are two swords here," Christ responded: "It is enough," that is two are sufficient. By such words, in reality he commanded nothing concerning the use of a sword, much less did he forbid it.

And even though the Lord afterward expressed disapproval of Peter's deed, because he did not lack defense, nevertheless neither the Lord, nor the holy Fathers blame Peter's intention, nay more, they praise it. Chrysostom says 'You consider love, piety and humility of the disciple. Therefore, it is one thing to strike Malchus from a fervor of love, it is another to put the sword back in its sheath, and to do so out of obedience." 479 St. Cyril says: "The intention of Peter, who took up the sword against enemies, was not foreign to the command of the law." 480 Ambrose tells us that: "Peter was well instructed in the law and by the affect of need, who knew the repute unto justice of Phineas who destroyed the sacrilegious and struck the servant of the priest." 481

Therefore, what the Centuriators say is blasphemous, that Peter impiously attempted that and violently impeded the counsel of God. Therefore, he prepared that defense not from hatred against the counsel of God, but from love for his master.

For the eleventh, they place the denial of Peter, which we do not deny was a great sin, but far be it that such a sin should be against his primacy, as it rather more confirms it. So St. Gregory says: "It must be considered for us, why

almighty God had arranged that he, born before the whole Church, should become scared of a handmaid and permitted himself to deny him. Yet without a doubt we recognize in the act, by a dispensation of great piety, that he who was going to be shepherd of the Church, should learn in his own fault, how he ought to have mercy on others." 482

They make the twelfth fault, that after the Lord was taken by the Jews, "the excellent, courageous hero Peter picked up and fled." But first, not only did Peter do this, but as it says in Matthew XXVI: "All the disciples left him behind and fled." Thereafter, although Peter fled in the beginning, nevertheless he soon returned, "And followed him from afar," as we read in the same place. Add the last, that there does not seem to be sin in flight. For if they ought to have followed the Lord, or thrown themselves down to die for him, then they should have followed. But they already understood, that the Lord refused any defense be made for himself: nor were they held to lay themselves down to die since rather more they had received the command to flee: "When they persecute you in one city, flee to another." 483

The thirteenth fall which the Centuriators enumerate, is that after the resurrection of the Lord, when Peter ran to the tomb with great ardor, still he had not yet rightly received the point of the resurrection as John shows. 484 But in the same place John defends himself and Peter together from that incrimination, when he says: "They did not yet know the Scriptures, that it was fitting for him to rise from the dead." Therefore Peter labored in a certain ignorance at that time, but without his own fault. Nor was he among those who refuse to understand that they might do well, but simply was ignorant.

The fourteenth fall they place in those words from John XXI:21, where he asks curiously about John: "What of this man?" For which the Lord scolds him: "What of you? Follow me." In other respects, if that curiosity must be said forgiveness is very worthy. For, as Chrysostom writes in this place, from the exceeding charity of Peter toward John. Peter reckoned John to desire to ask concerning himself, but did not dare to do so; for that reason, that he might oblige him, he asked the Lord.

The last fall the Centuriators constitute, is on the event at Antioch where he did not walk in the truth of the Gospel, and for that reason was rightly condemned by Paul. In referring to that as a sin, the Centuriators sufficiently imitate their elders, Marcion the heresiarch and the apostate Julian, who said Peter was marked and scolded on account of a very grave sin by Paul. Now

heir calumnies had already been refuted by Tertullian and Cyril. 485 The natter, however, is considered this way.

The Apostle Peter, when he had carried on at Antioch, took food with Christian liberty with the gentiles: Now certain Jews came upon him who were sent by James the Apostle to Peter. Then Peter began to think, that he could scarcely evade an offense, either of Gentiles or of Jews. For if he continued to eat food with the Gentiles, without a doubt he would offend the Jews, who still were weak in faith and could not yet persuade themselves that it was lawful for Jews to use the food of the nations: but on the contrary, were he to separate himself from the Gentiles, and eat food apart from them with the Jews, he should incure offense against the Gentiles, of course, who either would argue he shallowness of Peter, or begin to Judaize after the example of such a man Therefore, in this disturbance of mind St. Peter chose that, which he though he least bad, as it was plain to see he was an especial Apostle to the Jews rather than the Gentiles, than that he should offend the Jews. Now Paul ridiculed that choice, and sharply scolded Peter with sufficiency.

Now in regard to this deed of Peter, the Greek Fathers will to be free from every sin, as is certain from their commentaries on Chapter 2 to the Galatians and St. Jerome wrote under the Greeks, both in commentaries of the same epistle and in an epistle to St. Augustine, 486 but many of the Latins recognize some sin in this deed of Peter. 487

It remains, that though it was certainly a sin, it was either venial, that is i was very light, or only material, that is it was a certain error, without any faul of Peter. Accordingly, it is certain that he did what he did with the best ntentions.

With respect to this, he erred in his choice. The reason was either some nconsideration, and thus the sin would have been venial, or from a lack o knowledge, and then it would be an involuntary ignorance, and consequently he committed no fault. Moreover, it is believable that divine providence was a work, so that in this businesses the mind of Paul would be made more clear than the mind of Peter, and we would be furnished with a very useful example both of the liberty in Paul, and of the patience and humility in Peter.

De Romano Pontifice: Book II

On the Successors of the Supreme Pontiff

Chapter I: A Question is Proposed, Whether St. Peter Went to Rome, Remained There as a Bishop and Died There

Now that those matters which pertain to the explication and defense o the primacy of Peter have been constituted, we turn to those which pertain to the primacy of his successors. Seeing that the right o succession of the Roman Pontiffs is founded on the fact that Pete placed his see with the Lord's permission in Rome, and that he sat i hat seat and died there. Therefore the first question arises: Whether Peter wa Bishop of Rome, and did not thence ever transfer his see to another.

Most of today's heretics call this into doubt, that which has constantly bee believed by the whole world for 1500 years, without a doubt St. Peter was Bishop of Rome and gave up his ghost through martyrdom of the cross; som of those who treat this argument are more modest, while others are mor mpudent.

The first that I know of, who taught that St. Peter was neither Bishop o Rome or ever saw Rome itself was a certain William, the master of Joh Wycliff, as Thomas the Waldensian relates. 488 The Lutheran, Ulrich Velenus followed him, who published a whole book on the matter, wherein by 1 persuasions (as he calls them) he reckons he has demonstrated that Peter wa never at Rome, and both Peter and Paul were not at Rome, but were killed i Jerusalem. At the end of the book he tells us that for his labor, he, without an doubt, was going to receive the rewards of the unfading crown by God. Now truly, if God deigns to reward lies with a crown, then there can be no doub Velenus will receive a very splendid one.

Illyricus also says in a book against the primacy of the Pope: "The proof i certain that Peter was never at Rome." John Calvin, after he shows that there i doubt about the whole matter, concludes: "Nevertheless, on account of the consensus of writers, I do not quibble over whether he died there, but rathe whether he was a bishop, especially for a very long time; of that I cannot b persuaded." 489 The Centuriators hold similar things. 490

Moreover, it must be observed, that there are four things which are calle nto doubt. First, whether Peter was at Rome? Secondly, whether he died a

Rome? Thirdly, whether he was Bishop of Rome? Fourthly, did he ever move the Roman Episcopate once it was received?

From these four alone the last is necessarily required and suffices to constitute the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. That is the reason why Calvin could by no means admit only the fourth, while he made little trouble about the other three. This is because it is clear that the first neither requires nor suffices since, although there are many Roman Pontiffs who never avoided that they should come to Rome, there are also many Roman Pontiffs who were never at Rome, such as Clement V, John XXII, Benedict XII, Clement VI, Innocent VI and Urban V, all who were ordained in France, and all remained in the same place.

Likewise, the second is neither required, nor suffices for it is seen that many Roman Pontiffs died outside of Rome; for Clement I died in Pontus Pontianus in Sardinia, John I at Ravenna, Agapetus at Constantinople, Innocent III at Pergia, Innocent IV in Naples, John XX at Viterbo, and others in other places. The same is attested by the countless multitude, who daily die at Rome and still are not Roman Pontiffs.

Moreover, the Third is required, but does not suffice, for it is gathered from it that Peter was bishop at Antioch, and nevertheless because he transferred that see to another place, the bishops of Antioch never thereafter held first place. Therefore, the fourth alone is required and suffices. Still, since all of them are true we will prove them individually by their proper arguments.

Chapter II: That Peter was at Rome

Now, so as to begin from the first point at issue, we will show that St. Peter was at some time in Rome, first from the testimony of Peter himself. He says as much at the end of the first epistle: “The Church gathered in Babylon greets you, as well as Marcus my son.” 491 Papias, a disciple of the Apostles witnesses that this epistle was written from Rome, which is called Babylon by Peter. Eusebius witnesses this: “Papias also says this, because Peter in his first epistle, which he wrote from the city of Rome, made mention of Mark whereby figuratively he named Rome Babylon, since he says; ‘The Church chosen in Babylon greets you, and Mark my son.’” 492

Jerome also witnesses in his book, *de viris illust.*, on Mark, that: “Peter, in his first epistle, meaning Rome figuratively by the name of Babylon says, ‘the Church which is gathered in Babylon, greets you.’” Oecumenius, Bede and everyone else who published commentaries on this epistle express the same thing.

Additionally, John the Apostle calls Rome Babylon everywhere in the book of the Apocalypse, as Tertullian observes. 493 It is obviously gathered from Chapter 17 of the Apocalypse, where Babylon is called the great seat upon many hills, and has dominion over the kings of the earth. Now in John’s time there was no other city, which had rule over the kings of the earth apart from Rome, and it is known rather well that Rome was built upon seven hills.

Thereupon, our adversaries shout that Rome is Babylon from the book of the Apocalypse. Indeed, Luther himself titled his book: *de Babylonica captivitate*, and the Centuriators accept the Apocalypse in the number of the divine books, for no other reason than that in this book many things were said against Rome, under the name of Babylon. 494 For which reason, if Rome is Babylon in the Scriptures, as they would have it, and Peter writes “from Babylon,” he certainly writes from Rome.

Velenus however responds: “The true Babylon was only in two places, one in Assyria, the other in Egypt, which now is called Chayrum; from which it follows that Peter wrote from Assyria, or from Egypt, not from Italy when he said ‘in Babylon.’” (loc. cit.)

Yet Velenus says nothing of value, for we have shown from many writers that Peter speaks about Babylon not properly so called, but on that which in the Apocalypse is figuratively called Babylon. Whereby, it must be believed more

han one Velenus, who could bring no author on behalf of his exposition Otherwise, let Velenus tell us if there was no Babylon outside of Assyria and Egypt, what indeed is that Babylon that is said in the Apocalypse to have rule over the kings of the earth? Indeed it is certain this fits neither Assyria nor Egypt.

Yet Velenus insists: “If with Peter they understand Rome by the name Babylon, and even with John, therefore all who leave the Roman Church do so correctly. For in Apocalypse XVIII we read thus: “It fell, it fell, Babylon the Great and it was made the habitation of demons and the confinement of every unclean spirit.’ etc. And again: ‘Go out from that, my people, that lest you be made partakers of her crimes, and that you do not receive her misfortune.’”

I respond: Babylon is not called the Roman Church, but the city of Rome such it was in the time of John. For, as Tertullian expresses it, just as the true Babylon was the head of an empire and had a king, Nebuchadnezzar, who persecuted the people of God and led them into captivity, so also in the time of the Apostles Rome was the head of an empire, and had an emperor, Nero, who cruelly persecuted the people of God. 495

John predicted that this Babylon would fall to ruin, because the Roman Empire had to be blotted out, which we now know was certainly done. Did not the Goths, Vandals, Huns and Lombards reduce the empire of the city of Rome almost to nothing?

He calls the same Babylon the dwelling place of demons, and the charge of every unclean spirit, because (as St. Leo says in his sermon on the birth of the Apostles) when she lorded over all the Nations, she served the errors of all the Nations. He says concerning this: “Go out from her, o my people,” which is understood concerning the heart, not the body, as St. Augustine shows. 496 Indeed, John bids that the Saints should not be joined with the heathen and idolaters in the similitude of their customs and life, even if they might be able to be together with them in the same city. For which reason it is also certain that Christians never went out of the city on account of these words of John.

This is why St. Jerome, in an epistle to Marcella, which, in the name of Paula and Eustochia, he exhorts her that she would migrate from Rome into Bethlehem, and after he brings to bear these words from the Apocalypse against Rome, he immediately adds: “Indeed, the Holy Church is there, where the trophies of the Apostles and Martyrs are, the true confession of Christ, there the faith is preached by the Apostle, and there, with paganism being trampled daily, the Christian name lifts itself on high, etc.” By such words he teaches

hat John was not speaking against the Roman Church, but against Roman paganism. And Jerome addresses Rome thus in another place: "I speak to you who has blotted out the blasphemy written on the forehead by the confession of Christ." 497

Secondly, this same thing is proved from the last book of Acts of the Apostles, as well as from the epistle to the Romans. It is established from those places that there were many Christians at Rome, nay more a full and flourishing Church, before Paul had come there. Therefore, I ask who made these Christians, if Peter was not at Rome? For, many fathers write about the fact that Peter preached to the Romans first of all, and founded a Church before Paul would have come there. Yet that someone else had done that, cannot be shown by any firm argument.

Certainly, Irenaeus says that the Roman Church was founded by Peter and Paul, that is first by Peter, thereafter by Paul and together with Paul. 498 Eusebius, speaking about Peter, says: "He *first* opened the door of the heavenly kingdom with the keys of the Gospel in the city of Rome with the word of salutary preaching." 499 Arnobius says that Rome converted to Christ because it had seen the fiery chariot of Simon Magus blow apart by the prayer of Peter and immediately vanish after the name of Christ had been invoked. 500

Epiphanius says: "Peter and Paul were the first in Rome." 501 St. John Chrysostom says: "Peter the fisherman, especially because he occupied the royal city, shone more brightly than the sun after death." 502

Paul Orosius writes: "In the beginning of the reign of Claudius, Peter the Apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ came to Rome, and taught salutary faith with a faithful word to all, and confirmed it by the most potent virtues, and thence Christians began to be at Rome." 503

Pope St. Leo says: "When the Apostles received the charge to be distributed throughout the parts of the world to imbue it with the Gospel, the most Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostolic order, was destined to the capital of the Roman Empire." 504 Theodoret writes: "The great Peter first offered the Evangelical doctrine to them (the Romans)." 505 Gregory of Tours in his History, after he had shown that Peter came to Rome under the rule of the Emperor Claudius, added: "From those days Christians began to be in the city of Rome." 506

The Emperor Theodosius says: "The empire rules all people whom of our mercy, we wish to live in such a religion, as that religion which St. Peter the Apostle handed to the Romans, and still declares to be at work." 507 Add the

prophecies of the Erythraean Sybil, which among the other things it predicted hat Christ was going to subjugate the city of Aeneas not in the sword or war ut on the hook of the fisherman. Antoninus refers to this prophecy also. 508

Velenus responds, that after the passion of Christ, which was still in the ime of the Emperor Tiberias, Christians began to be at Rome, as he says Orosius hands down, 509 as well as Tertullian in the Apologeticus, Plantina in *Vita Christi*, and Tranquillus in *Vita Tiberii*. From which it follows that the Roman Church was not founded by Peter, who of course is said to have firs come to Rome in the time of Claudius.

Let us add in favor of Velenus the testimony of Clement, where we read hat Barnabas preached at Rome in the time of Tiberias. 510 In this Dorotheus Tyrensis followed, who says that Barnabas was the first who preached at Rome respond: It is false that any Christians were in Rome in the time of Tiberias and what the Fathers say is very true, that Peter preached to the Romans, and hat in the time of the Emperor Claudius. For, from four authors cited by Velenus, only two are ancient, Tranquillus and Tertullian, and they do not say his at all, thus Velenus clearly is lying, although in the preface he solemnly swears by his own conscience that he would thrust in no lie or deceit Tranquillus does not mention Christians in the life of Tiberias, but in the life of Claudius, where he says the Jews made a tumult over the instigation of Christ and were expelled from Rome by Claudius. This certainly favors our teaching for we contend that Christians began to be in Rome in the time of Claudius.

Now Tertullian in the *Apologeticus* indicates the contrary. For, he says that Pilate wrote from Palestine to Tiberius about the resurrection of Christ, and that God was believed by many, which Tiberius related to the Senate, whether it seemed that Christ must be received as a God. Then the Senate refused, for the reason that he would have already been considered a God by the people, as Pilate had written, rather than that he should be consecrated by the Senate From such a tale it cannot be gathered that Christians were then at Rome, but rather more that they were not. If indeed they were, it would be from them that Tiberius first recognized the report of Christ than from a letter of Pilate.

Next, Orosius, whom Platina followed, added to the words of Tertullian hat the Senate decreed that Christians were to be banished from the city Orosius eloquently teaches in the same seventh book that Christians were not at Rome until after the arrival of Peter, who came while Claudius ruled. Therefore he sense of the edict was this, that the Christian religion should not be received n any way, and from the city should be banished if ever one who was a

Christian should arrive. Still, such an edict would have no force, for, as the same Orosius relates, Tiberius established a penalty for the accusers of Christians.

Now I respond to that about Barnabas. It is not true that Barnabas preached to the Romans in the time of Tiberius. It is certain that no one preached to the Nations before Peter was admonished in a vision in Acts X and XI. From that time, Barnabas was always together with Paul, and carried through to the Council of Jerusalem, as is clear from Acts XI-XV, and since Paul had not at that time gone to Rome, it is certain Barnabas did not go. The Council of Jerusalem however, was celebrated in the eighteenth year after the passion of the Lord, as is gathered from Paul in Galatians I and II, which was in the thirteenth year from the death of Tiberius; therefore, Barnabas did not come to Rome in the times of Tiberius.

Add to this point that the book of Recognitions is held to be Apocryphal. Hence, Dorotheus Tyrensi is incorrectly reckoned to be the author of the *Synopsis*, a book that is filled with fabrications and lies. For (that I might pass over others), by what reason can that author be defended, since he numbers among the seventy two disciples the Eunuch of the Queen of Ethiopia, whom it is certain was converted by Philip after the Lord's Ascension, and he makes Junia a bishop, even though it is certain she was a woman? Furthermore he says that Caesar, of whom Paul makes mention in his letter to the Philippians, was a disciple of Christ and a bishop, even though it is clear that Paul is speaking about Nero Caesar.

Lastly, add that if we were to receive the books of Recognitions and the Sypopsis of Dorotheus, it would profit Velenus little, or nothing at all. Likewise, therefore, Clement, whom Dorotheus followed, in the same place that he relates about Barnabas he says he accomplished nothing at Rome, and immediately after the first sermon held without fruit, he returned to Judaea.

Thirdly, the history concerning the Gospel of Mark it is proven. Serious authors constantly write that Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome, exactly as he had heard Peter preaching; indeed Eusebius writes this, as well as many other Fathers. [511] Lastly, Tertullian says that the Gospel of Mark is ascribed to Peter that in the very matter Mark was the interpreter and disciple of Peter, just as the Gospel of Luke is attributed to Paul: "What the disciples promulgated began to be seen to be of their masters." [512]

Velenus responds, that they are all deceived, because they failed to notice that there were two Marks. One, who was called John Mark, concerning whom

a mention is made in Acts of the Apostles, XII-XV; the second, who was called Mark Aristarchus, about whom Paul speaks in his epistle to Philemon. From these two, the first wrote the Gospel, and was the Bishop of Alexandria, and was a disciple and follower of Peter, yet never saw Rome. The second, was at Rome with Paul, but did not write a Gospel. Next, the Fathers, who agree with the two Marks, attributed to one, and hence, fell into that error, that they should reckon Mark to have written a Gospel at Rome.

But our Velenus has committed three errors. The first, is that he reckons in the Epistle to Philemon that Marcus Aristarchums is one man, when obviously they are two. Thus indeed Paul says: “Thus my fellow captives in Christ greet you Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, and Luke my helpers.” And more clearly in the last Chapter of Colossians: “Aristarchus my fellow captive greats you, as well as Mark, a relation of Barnabus.”

The second error is that he would have it that Mark the Evangelist was never at Rome, because he was the Bishop of Alexandria; as if he could not be sent from Rome to Alexandria by St. Peter, or even as if he could not come from Alexandria to Rome, and again return from Rome to Alexandria.

The third error asserts that the Gospel was written by John Mark. For John Mark was a relation of Barnabas, and a disciple of Paul, as is gathered from Acts XII-XV, and from the last Chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians, that he even survived until the fourteenth year of Nero. Accordingly, Paul, in his second epistle to Timothy, which he wrote in the fourteenth year of Nero, with his martyrdom imminent, bid Mark to be sent to him. Yet Mark the evangelist and Bishop of Alexandria was killed in the eighth year of Nero, as Eusebius writes in his *Chronicle*, and Jerome in the book on Mark in *De Viris Illustribus*.

Fourthly, this same thing can be proved from the history of St. Peter’s glorious conquest over Simon Magus at Rome, which is true from the testimony of many Fathers, as we proved in the previous book. Lastly, all the arguments agree with those which we will make plain in the following Chapter, that St. Peter underwent martyrdom for Christ at Rome, nor could anyone die at Rome who had never been there.

Chapter III: St. Peter Died at Rome

Now St. Peter not only came to Rome at some point, but also, together with Paul, laid down his life for Christ, as their tombs especially witness. For if Peter and Paul did not die at Rome, who brought their bodies to Rome? From where and when, and with what witnesses did someone bring them? If perhaps they would respond, that the bodies of the Apostles were not at Rome, I ask where in the world are they? Certainly they were never said to be any other place. Nor does it have the appearance of truth that the bodies of the greatest Apostles would be so neglected, since we see the bodies of so many other saints most diligently preserved.

Eusebius made this argument to such a degree that he thought it was superfluous to seek any others. He says: "Therefore Nero, as he openly declared himself a host of divinity and godliness, asked for the death of those Apostles, indeed who were the generals and standard bearers in the people of God. Accordingly he condemned Paul to fall short by a head in the city of Rome itself, but Peter on the gibbet of the cross. I reckon it superfluous to seek testimony of them beyond this, since the deed is famous even to this day and their splendid *monuments* witness the event." [513]

Thereupon, the consensus of the whole world witnesses this same thing which is especially gathered by the pilgrimage *ad limina Apostolorum*. Pope Nicolas I writes in his epistle to Michael, that so many thousand men from the whole world daily rush upon the source of religion, to the tombs of the Apostles, that the city of Rome alone would sufficiently show the Church of Christ to be Catholic or universal, since many from every race are always seen coming to the tombs of Peter and Paul.

Moreover, our adversaries cannot deny that all Christians were persuaded of this even to the times of John Wycliff, that is, even to the 14th century, that St. Peter was at and died in Rome. Furthermore it is not credible in any manner that for such a long time there was never someone who unmasked this error, if it were one, especially since that, which the whole world believed for so long was not some deed made into a cornerstone and a monument without witnesses which can easily be invented and refuted with great difficulty. Truly we say St Peter carried out his pontificate for many years, and at length after Simon Magus was publicly defeated, it is well known that he ended his life crucified upside down by the command of a most powerful emperor, known for his

cruelty. How believable is that affair, which we said was so famous, were to be n fact false, and there was no man for fourteen hundred years who would have efuted it?

Lastly, the testimonies of the Greek and Latin Fathers witness this same hing. Ignatius, who lived in the time of the Apostles, in his letter to the Romans, a great part of which is recited by St. Jerome, 514 asks the Romans est they would impede his passion, saying: "I do not command you as Peter nd Paul, etc." by which words he seems to allude to the passion of Peter and Paul, which came to pass a little before at Rome. Therefore, Roman Christians ried to impede their passions. For they compelled Peter with tears to leave the city when he was sought for the punishment of Nero. Therefore, Ignatius says although I cannot command you, as Peter and Paul were able, nevertheless I sk, lest you impede me, just as you tried to impede them.

Dionysius the Corinthian, who flourished a hundred years after the death of the Apostles, when he was at Rome, as Eusebius relates, 515 says among other things: "Together, both teaching in the same city, were equally one in the same in martyrdom, and were crowned at the same time."

Cajus, who was nearly fifty years after Dionysius, says the same thing: "I have the trophies of the Apostles, which I shall show. If indeed you were to go forth on the royal road, which leads to the Vatican, or by the Ostian Road, you will discover the motionless trophy, whereby being constituted on each side he Roman Church is fortified."

Egesippus, as he was very near to the times of the Apostles, lavishly recites the whole history, adding to those which had said before, that Peter was crucified upside down, as he had demanded. 516 Eusebius in his Chronicle, in he seventy first year from the birth of Christ says: "First, Nero over all his crimes also made persecutions against Christians, in which Peter and Paul gloriously lie dead together."

Theodoret, speaking in an epistle to Pope Leo about Rome, says: "It has he tombs of their fathers in common, the teachers of truth Peter and Paul which illuminate the souls of the faithful." Origen, as Eusebius relates, 517 says: "And Peter, tarried to the last in the city of Rome, there he was also crucified, with his head down, which he so asked to be done, lest he should seem equal with the Lord." 518 Athanasius says in his *Apologia pro fuga sua* 'Peter and Paul, since they had heard that it behooved them to undergo nartyrdom at Rome, did not cast aside that departure, but departed with joy."

Chrysostom says: “The sky is not so bright, that when the sun sends forth its rays, it would be as the city of Rome, sending out these two lights into all parts of the world. Paul will be caught up from there, and then Peter. Just consider and shudder at the thought of what a sight Rome will see, when suddenly Paul shall arise from that coffin, together with Peter, and they will be lifted up to meet the Lord.” 519

Now from the Latins. Tertullian says: “Since you are close upon Italy, you have Rome, whence comes even to us the authority itself. How happy is its church, on which the apostles poured forth all their doctrine along with their blood! Where Peter endures a passion like his Lord’s! Where Paul wins his crown in death.” 520 Lactantius says: “Christ, departing, opened all things to come to his disciples, which Peter and Paul preached at Rome . . . Since Nero killed them, Vespasian extinguished the name and nation of the Jews, and did all the things which had been predicted were going happen.” 521

Ambrose says: “At night, Peter began to go out from the wall, and seeing Christ approach him at the gate, and go into the city, he said: ‘Lord, where are you going?’ Christ responded: ‘I come to Rome to be crucified again.’ Peter understood the divine response pertained to his own cross . . . and immediately after being rebuked he honored the Lord Jesus by his cross.” 522

Jerome says: “Simon Peter proceeded to conquest Simon Magus at Rome and held the sacerdotal chair there for 25 years, even to the end, that is, in the fourteenth year of Nero, by whom he was affixed to a cross, crowned with martyrdom, with his head facing the ground.” 523 St. Augustine says: “The merits of Peter and Paul, on account of the same day of passion are more famous and solemn Rome commends.” 524 St. Maximus the confessor says ‘Peter and Paul endured martyrdom in the city of Rome, which as a head obtained the rule of nations, obviously that where the head of superstition was there the head of sanctity should rest.” 525

Sulpitius adds: “Divine religion strengthened the city, while Peter managed the Episcopate there, and Paul afterward was lead to Rome . . . Paul and Peter were condemned to die, one by the severing of his neck, Peter was lifted up on the cross.” 526 Paul Orosius, in book 7 of his *Histories*: “For the chief (Nero) at Rome, afflicted Christians by the penalty of death, and tried to root up that name, thus he killed the most Blessed Apostles of Christ, Peter on a Cross, and Paul by the sword.” Eutropius says: “Thereupon, he added even this to all his crimes, that he cut down the holy Apostles of God Peter and Paul.” 527 Paulinus says: “Rome itself, made powerful by the heavenly and lofty

nonuments to Peter and Paul." 528 Isidore says on the life of Peter: "In the hirty seventh year after the passion of our Lord, he was crucified by Nero Caesar in the city of Rome, upside down as he wished."

St. Leo the Great says: "This very day, the feast must be venerated by a pecial and proper exultation of our city, apart from that reverence which it has earned from the whole world, that where it boasts in the death of the particular Apostles, there, on the day of their martyrdom, the first place should be given o joy." 529 Gregory of Tours says: "Nero bid Peter to be killed on the cross Paul by the sword." 530 Pope St. Gregory, speaking about the Roman Church says: "Peter made lofty the see, in which he also sat and deigned to end the present life." 531

Prudentius in a hymn on St. Laurence, speaks thus:

Discede adulter Juppiter stupro sororis oblite,
Relinque Romam liberam, Plebemque jam Christi fuge.
Te Paulus hinc exterminat, te Sanguis exturbat Petri
Tibi id, quod ipse armaveras, factum Neronis officit. 532

Arator, at the end of Acts of the Apostles speaks thus:

Dignaque materies Petri, Paulique coronae,
Caesareas superare minas, et in arce tyranni
Pandere jura poli, summumque in agone tribunal
Vincere, ne titulos parvus contingeret hostis. 533

Elipis, the wife of Boethius, in a hymn on the Apostles:

O felix Roma, quae tantorum principum
Es purpurata precioso sanguine,
Non laude tua, sed ipsorum meritis
Excellis omnem mundi pulchritudinem. 534

I omit innumerable others, as Bede, Ado, Freculph, Bernard and the rest Accordingly, these can suffice, since all lived in the first five centuries, and since our adversaries can not even advance one who taught the contrary. Lastly add that the heathen authors, although they do not mention Peter and Paul by name, for they seemed contemptible to them, nevertheless agree with the cited Fathers in that, at Rome, Nero first commanded Christians to be killed, as is clear from Tacitus and Suetonius. 535

To these testimonies Velenus makes no answer, except that what was said by some Fathers, that Christ appeared to Peter at the gate of Rome and said "

come to Rome to be crucified again," is a horrendous lie and a blasphemy against Peter himself and the Holy Spirit. For he says Christ was never going to come down from heaven again except on the day of judgment, as the Holy Spirit witnesses through the mouth of Peter: "Whom it is fitting receives heaven even to the times of the restoration of all things." 536

Yet it is rather more Velenus that lies and blasphemes, that he seeks to place shackles on Christ, lest he could move even to the Day of Judgment. For, that I might omit other apparitions of Christ, which are read in approved authors certainly in Acts of the Apostles Christ appeared to Paul while standing in the air. 537 For what then Paul truly saw with his corporeal eyes was Christ present and near to himself, and it is clear both from the light which shone all around him, and from the blindness, which came after seeing the glory of Christ, as is said in the words of Holy Scripture. For in Acts IX, Ananias says to Paul 'The Lord Jesus sent me, who appeared to you on the road." And in the same place: "Barnabas taking Paul lead him to the Apostles, and told them how he had seen the Lord." And Paul himself says: "Am I not an Apostle? Did I not see our Lord Jesus Christ?" 538 And again: "And lastly, to one as born out of time he was seen by me." 539 Where he enumerates witnesses of the resurrection, who saw the Lord with corporeal eyes, and places himself among them.

Now to that of Acts Chapter 3, I respond: Peter wished to mean, that Christ *was* not coming publicly and in the presence of all, except on the day of judgment: but hence it is not effected, that he could not appear privately, and to *whom* he should wish.

Chapter IV: Peter was a Bishop at Rome, even to Death

Now the last two points remain, which can be proven together. Therefore hat Peter was a Bishop at Rome, and that he retained his episcopate even to leath, firstly appears to be recommended by the supreme dignity of the Roman Church. It is always held as first in the consensus of all, and over all the others as even Calvin affirms. This excellence cannot, however, be accounted for by any reasoning apart from that the Prince of the Apostles was the proper pastor of that Church, as well as its bishop, as we showed above when we disputed on he twenty six prerogatives of St. Peter.

Thereupon, if Peter was not the Bishop of Rome even to death, then let our adversaries show where Peter sat from that time in which he left Antioch. For Peter did not remain perpetually at Antioch, as the Antiochenes themselves confess, and it is sufficiently proved by the custom of the Church, which never attributes the first place to the Bishop of Antioch. Moreover, there is no Church, nor was there ever, that asserted Peter was its bishop, with the exception of Antioch and Rome; therefore, for what reason will we say that Peter was not the bishop of any place?

But our adversaries cannot say this, of course, because they would have it hat Peter was not the bishop of the universal Church, but only of some particular place, just as John was of Ephesus, and James of Jerusalem. Thus, let hem say where Peter was a bishop, or if he was bishop of Rome and afterward changed his see; let them say, if they can, to where he transferred it?

Let the testimony and consensus of all the fathers be added, in which Calvin is compelled to believe, unless he would oppose himself: indeed, he says he refuses to oppose it on account of the consensus of the writers, whether Peter died at Rome: therefore, since the same writers say with supreme agreement that Peter was the Bishop of Rome, and no one from the Fathers ever denied that, why can they not be convinced that Peter lead the Episcopate of Rome?

St. Irenaeus listed a whole catalogue of Roman Bishops, and in the first place puts Peter and Paul, secondly Linus, thirdly Anacletus, fourthly Clement and the rest even to Elutherius who sat, and from Clement, Sixtus and Elutherius he repeats, that they succeed the Apostles; saying Clement was the hird from the Apostles, Sixtus the sixth, Eleutherius the twelfth, but certainly i

cannot truly be said, that Roman Bishops succeed Peter, if Peter was not the bishop of Rome. 540

Tertullian says: “Let them unroll the order of their bishops, so through successions running down, that the first bishop would be one from the Apostles, or Apostolic men. . . Just as the Roman Church bears before it Clement, who was ordained by Peter.” 541 Moreover, he does not reckon that Clement himself was ordained by Peter, but that Peter afterward transferred the see to another, as is clear from the same book, where Tertullian writes that Peter was crucified at Rome, from which we understand that Clement was ordained by Peter while the passion of Peter threatened, and hence Clement succeeded after the death of Peter.

St. Cyprian very frequently calls the Roman See the Chair of Peter, which he would not be able to say rightly if he believed Peter had established his see somewhere other than Rome. He says: “They dare to sail to the chair of Peter and to that principle Church, whence sacerdotal unity arises, bearing letters from schismatics and the profane. Do they not know that these are Romans, to whom treachery cannot have an entrance?” 542 And again: “It came to pass that Cornelius became the bishop when the place of Fabian, that is when the place of Peter and the step of the sacerdotal chair was emptied.” 543

Eusebius says in his Chronicle for the year 44: “Peter, a Galilean, the first Pontiff of Christians, although he had first founded a Church at Antioch, set out for Rome, where preaching the Gospel for twenty-five years, persevered as the bishop of the same city.” Epiphanius says: “In Rome, the succession of bishops has this sequence; Peter and Paul, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Evaristus Alexander, etc.” 544

Athanasius, in a letter to those leading a solitary life, says: “First, they did not even spare Liberius, the Bishop of Rome, moved by no reverence that is due to the Apostolic See . . . [speaking of Liberius] We never received such a tradition from the Fathers, who received it from the blessed and great Peter etc.” Where he numbers Peter amongst the predecessors of Liberius.

Dorotheus says in his Synopsis: “Linus, after Peter the head, was bishop of Rome.” Sozomen: “It did not happen without divine providence, that after Felix died, Liberius alone was in charge of the Roman Church, lest the see of Peter should be sprinkled with any stain of dishonor.” 545 Eulogius the Alexandrian quoted by St. Gregory, 546 says that “Peter sits at Rome even now in his successors.” Optatus says: “Therefore, you would not dare to deny that you know that the first Episcopal Chair is placed in the city of Peter.” 547 And

below that he enumerates the Roman Bishops from Peter even to Anastasius who sat in his time.

Ambrose says: “Indeed, Peter the Apostle is the author of this our assertion, who was the priest of the Roman Church.” 548 Jerome says that Peter ruled the Sacerdotal Chair at Rome for twenty-five years. 549 He says the same thing in his first letter to Pope Damasus, on the term “hypostasis,” saying ‘I speak with the successor of the fisherman and disciple of the cross, I unite in your beatitude, that is in communion with the chair of Peter.” Augustine says ‘What do you suppose is the chair of the Roman Church, in which Peter sat and in which now Anastasius sits?” 550 Likewise, in Epistle 16, he enumerates the Roman Bishops from Peter even to Anastasius.

Prudentius in a hymn on St. Laurence:

> Romae jam regnant duo
> Apostolorum principes:
> Alter vocator Gentium,
> Alter Catehdram possidens
> Primam, recludit creditas
> Aeternitatis januas. 551

Prosper of Aquitane from *libro de ingratis*:

> Rome the see of Peter, which for pastoral honor
> Was made head of the world, etc.

Sulpitius says: “Divine religion strengthened the city, while Peter was in charge of the Episcopate.” 552 Peter, the Bishop of Ravenna, in a letter to Eutyches, which is contained among the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon, says: “We exhort you, honorable brother, that you obediently attend to those things written by the Pope of the city of Rome, because Blessed Peter who both lived and presided in that seat as his own, supplies the truth of faith to all those seeking it.”

Theodoret, in an epistle to Leo, after he had said that Peter and Paul died at Rome, adds: “They make your seat more famous, this is the chief of your possessions. Moreover, God now also rendered that seat beautiful and famous when he placed your holiness in it, which emits the rays of the Orthodox faith.’ Isidore, in his life of Peter, says: “He, after founding the Church at Antioch continued to Rome against Simon Magus under the rule of Claudius Caesar and here, preaching the Gospel, held the pontificate of the same city for twenty-

ive years." Bede 553 has the same, as does Freculph, 554 Ado of Vienna, 555 nd all more recent authors.

Let them agree also, apart from the authority of so many fathers, with the estimonies of the ancient Roman Bishops who were martyrs or confessors Pope Clement teaches that with death threatening he handed on the Roman Episcopate to him. 556 Anacletus in Epistle 3 teaches that on account of the see of Peter, the Roman Church is the head of all others. Marcellus I, in a letter to he Antiochenes, says: "The See of Peter was begun with you, and was ransferred to Rome at the Lord's command, etc." Pope Damasus says that Peter was the Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, that is, even to his death 557 Innocent I, teaches the same thing, in a letter to the Council of Miletus. 558 Moreover, so do Pope Leo, Gelasius, John III, Pope St Gregory, Agatho Adrian and Nicholas I, and all others who wrote anything, affirm that their See s the Seat of Peter. 559 Their testimonies are still not received by our dversaries, because they say they wrote for their own purposes, yet certainly his is without cause, since these men were very holy, and none of the ancient athers ever condemn them in this regard.

Let the heretics of our time agree with the testimonies of the ancient Councils, which they themselves receive. First, the Council of 300 bishops of Sardica: "We honor the memory of the holy Apostle Peter, that these who would examine the case should write to Julius, the Bishop of Rome, and if he will have judged that the judgment must be restored, let it be restored, and let him give judgment." 560 Likewise in the Council of Ephesus, The Roman Pontiff Celestine is called: "Ordinary successor and vicar of Blessed Peter Prince of the Apostles." 561

In the second act of the Council of Chalcedon, when the epistle of Pope Leo was read, all shouted: "Peter has spoken through Leo," and in the 3rd Act when sentence was imposed against Dioscorus, Leo is provided with the dignity of the Apostle Peter to have deposed Disocorus. And in an epistle of Leo the whole Council says that Leo is the interpreter of the voice of Peter, that s, Peter speaks through Leo. All of this obviously shows, that it was the persuasion of the 630 Fathers at the Council, that Leo as Bishop of Rome, is the uccessor of Peter.

In the Fifth Council, Act 1, Menas, the Patriarch and president of the Council, bearing sentence against Anthimus and other heretics, says: "They had contempt for the Roman Church, in which there is succession of the Apostles which bears sentence against them." In the Sixth Council, Act 8, the bishops

itled a letter of Agatho, in different ways. Among others, a certain one thus says: “Suggestions were directed by our father Agatho, the most holy Apostolic Archbishop, of the ancient and principle Roman see, just as dictated by the Holy Spirit, through the mouth of the Holy and most Blessed Prince of the Apostles, Peter, and written by the finger of the thrice most blessed Pope Agatho I receive and embrace.” From these five most approved Councils we have more than 1200 ancient bishops, mostly Greek, who witness that the Roman Pontiff succeeds Peter.

Chapter V: The First Argument of our Adversaries is Answered

Now let us rebut the objections of Velenus, which also contains arguments from Calvin and Illyricus. First, his persuasion is such: "The Authors who say Peter came to Rome do not agree among themselves about the time in which he came; for Orosius says he came in the beginning of the reign of Claudius, Jerome says in the second year of Claudius, Fasciculus says in the fourth year of the same emperor, while the *Passionale* on the lives of the Saints says in the 13th year of Claudius.

"Besides, a wonderful variety is discovered in the numbering of the successors of Peter. For one places Clement immediately after Peter, as Tertullian says (loc. Cit.), and Jerome, 562 others place Linus after Peter, and after him Clement in the third places, as Optatus and Augustine; 563 others place Linus and Cletus, or Anacletus, after Peter, and at length Clement in the fourth place, as Irenaeus and Jerome. 564

"Add that all these make from Cletus and Anacletus one, therefore, nothing can be established for certain discord, and the argument of the authors is a falsity."

I respond to the first: the disagreement on the time, if it is such, in which Peter came to Rome, does not weaken our argument that Peter came to Rome. For it most often happens that one establishes on some business, and still does not establish on the manner or other circumstances. For it is certain among Christians, that Christ died on the Cross for us: nevertheless, there is very great disagreement on the time in which he died. Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria and Lactantius teach that Christ died in the 15th year of the emperor Tiberius, in his 30th year. 565 Ignatius, Eusebius, and others say he was crucified in his 33rd year of age, in the 18th year of Tiberius. Onuphrius, Mercator, and a few other more recent authors would have it that Christ suffered in his 34th year of life. Irenaeus contends that Christ was almost fifty, hence he would have suffered under Claudius, not under Tiberius.

On the day and the month in which Christ died, there is such a disagreement of the Fathers, as well as more recent writers, the jury is still out. See for example, the many arguments which Clement of Alexandria relates 566 but still, will we on that account deny that Christ suffered and died?

For equal reasoning, although it should be established that the weeks of Daniel are fulfilled by the passion of Christ, nevertheless there are many opinions on the time in which they begin, and in which they are defined. Likewise, on the years of the kings of the Persians, on the years of Samuel, Saul and others, several leaders of the Jews, on the years of the Emperors and Roman Pontiffs. Thereupon, on the years of the world, which have passed to this point, there are as many opinions as there are Chronologies. Therefore, will we say on that account, that there were never kings amongst the Persians, that Samuel and Saul were not there, that the Roman Emperors and Pontiffs never existed, and the world itself did not begin, or has not endured even to this day?

Therefore, the disagreement of writers is an argument for falsity, in regard to that in which they disagree, because necessarily some are mistaken by disagreements: but just as disagreement is a sign of falsity, so agreement is the greatest sign of truth, and there is agreement among all the Fathers, that Peter sat at Rome, and died there.

Finally I respond, there is no disagreement among good authors. For Eusebius in his Chronicle, and Jerome in his book on Ecclesiastical writers, as well as Ado of Trier in his martyrology, they all say that Peter came to Rome in the 2nd year of Claudius. Orosius does not disagree with this, 567 when he says that he came in the beginning of the reign of Claudius. For if the reign of Claudius were divided into three parts, that is, beginning, middle and end, you will see the second year pertains to the beginning. All those former authors agree with the latter, who assert that Peter sat at Rome for twenty five years and died in the fourteenth of Nero, certainly Damasus, Isidore, Bede, Freculph Ado of Vienna, and the rest whom we cited above. Therefore, there are no twenty-five years even to the 14th of Nero, unless we begin from the second year of Claudius.

Wherefore we rightly scorn Fasciculus and the Passionale of the season especially since Fasciculus followed Marianus Scotus, who is opposed to himself and the truth. Marianus Scotus says in his Chronicle, that Peter came to Rome in the 4th year of Claudius, and died in the last year of Nero, nevertheless he sat in the Roman Episcopate for twenty-five years and two months, which is in no way coherent in itself. For Claudius ruled for thirteen years, eight months and twenty days, while Nero reigned for thirteen years and seven months twenty eight days, as Dio Casius, Suetonius, Tranquilus, Eusebius and even Marianus Scotus himself witness. Truly, what is found in the Chronicle of Eusebius, that fourteen years, seven months and twenty eight days are

ıttributed to Nero is plainly a copyist error, accordingly, since individual years ıre conted, they are not discovered to be apart from thirteen, and a little more.

Furthermore, these times of Claudius and Nero joined together do not nake a point greater than twenty-seven years, four months and eighteen days rom which if you were to remove three years, five months and eighteen days vhich Marianus Scotus would have vanish from the Rule of Claudius, before Peter came to Rome, only twenty-three years and eleven months would remain Therefore, either Peter died after Nero, or he did not sit for twenty-five years.

Now we move in regard to the second part of the argument, on the succession of the first four Popes. To the first I respond, even if we were completely ignorant about who next succeeded Peter, still it would not be called nto doubt whether someone had succeeded him. Just the same as the greatest question is treated among the writers, who was the husband of Esther, since ome think Xerxes the Mede, others Cambyses the Persian, others Darius Histaspis, while still others Artaxerses Longimanus, and still others that it was Mnemonem. Nevertheless no one ever thought there could be a doubt as to whether Esther had a husband or not.

Thus I respond: the whole matter can be thus arranged and explained. The Apostle Peter, while his passion was imminent, left the Episcopal seat to St Clement. Serious authors witness it, Tertullian, Jerome, Pope John III, and besides these Clement himself, Anacletus, and Damasus. 568

But yet, after the death of Peter, Clement refused to sit in the Apostolic eat, until Linus and Cletus lived, who were aids to St. Peter himself in the Episcopal Office. For that reason Clement was not the first Pope from Peter ather Linus was. We so gather this, first from Epiphanius, who handed down rom the opinion of the fathers, that the seat was refused by Clement, while Linus and Cletus lived. Next from this ambiguity, if Clement or Linus or whoever else succeeded Peter without any contention, certainly no question would have existed about the first successor of Peter: just the same, on the first uccessor of James at Jerusalem, and of Mark at Alexandria, and of Peter himself at Antioch, there was never any question.

But since in the Roman Church, after the death of Peter a holy contention was born from humility, and there was one and another that ought to be the first uccessor of Peter, thence some obscurity was discovered in this succession Also, from these the authors can be reconciled, who either place Clement ahead of Linus, or Linus ahead of Clement; accordingly Irenaeus, Eusebius Epiphanius, Optatus, Augustine and Jerome, when they assert that Linus was

he next to have succeeded Peter, they assert what is true, but they do not deny hat Clement had refused that Episcopate. Next Tertullian, Jerome, Ruffinus and the rest, who write that Clement was left behind as a successor to Peter hey tell the matter truly: further, they do not deny that Clement in that time efused to receive the seat.

Nor do certain writings on the life of Linus matter much to me, such as the Pontificale of Damasus, the writings of Sophronius and of Simeon Metaphrastes, where they say that Linus died before Peter. Sophronius and Simeon are more recent, and the *Liber Pontificalis*, which is attributed to Damasus, is of doubtful authority in the matter. Yet the authors, who write that Linus succeeded Peter, not only are most ancient, but even more they are many and esteemed.

Moreover after Linus, Cletus, or Anacletus, after whom Clement must be placed fourth. The authors are Irenaeus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome and likewise, the most ancient Canon of the Mass, where we read of Linus, Cletus and Clement, and thereupon, Ignatius in his epistle to Maria Zarbensem, where he signifies Clement succeeded Anacletus. After Clement, another Anacletus must be added without a doubt, as Optatus, Augustine, Damasus and others add.

Indeed there were two men named Anacletus, the second of whom is also called Cletus, although on account of the similarity in name, many fathers make one from the two. First, the authority of the Catholic Church persuades us, which celebrates two feast days in their memory; certainly of Cletus in the month of April, and Anacletus in the month of July; Cletus was a Roman and the son of Emilianus, while Anacletus was an Athenian, and the son of Antiochus. It is not believable that in such a matter that the whole Church would be deceived.

Next, we gather the same from the fact that some fathers place Anacletus before Clement, as Ignatius, Irenaeus and Eusibius. Others add, like Optatus Damasus and Augustine, that is by argument that they were two not one. Hence the first Anacletus was also usually called Cletus; thence it is certian, that the same was Pope, whom Ignatius, Irenaeus and Eusebius call Anacletus Epiphanius, Jerome, Damasus, John III and the most holy Canon of the Mass itself name Cletus.

It ought to be no wonder, on account of the similarity of the name that one Anacletus was made from two by certain Fathers, since it is certain that the Greeks in many places confused Novatus with Novation, and nevertheless it is

quite certain that Novatus was a Carthaginian, while Novatian was a Roman Priest. Eusebius and Nicephorus of Constantinople in their Chronicles made one person both Marcellus and Marcellinus, though it is altogether certain and proven that they were two separate men.

Chapter VI: The Second Argument of our Adversaries is Answered

The second persuasion of Velenus is actually taken from Calvin and the Centuriators. “Peter could not have come to Rome before eighteen years after the Lord’s passion; for when the Council of Jerusalem happened in Acts XV Peter was still in Judaea; but that Council came to pass in the eighteenth year from the Lord’s passion, as St. Jerome gathers. 569 For Paul came to Jerusalem to see Peter three years after his conversion. Thereupon, it was after fourteen years he returned into Jerusalem to the Council, in which if you add one year which passed from the Lord’s passion, even to the conversion of Paul, they would be eighteen years.

“Add, that Peter is said to have been in Judaea for five years, then seven years in Antioch, and as many years in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bythinia, and he could not preach in so many places in one day, there fore at least eighteen years would have passed before Peter could have come to Rome.

“Besides, if before eighteen years Peter could have come to Rome certainly he would have come in the second year of Claudius, as we said above and that cannot be, both because in that year St. Peter was not yet freed from the prison in which Herod had thrown him in. That liberation happened in the third year of Claudius, as is gathered from Luke 570 and from Josephus, 571 and Christ had also commanded his Apostles, that they should not leave from Jerusalem before twelve years, but as Eusebius relates from Thrasea the martyr his fell in the twelfth year from the resurrection of Christ, in the third year of Claudius, therefore, Peter did not come to Rome in the second year of Claudius, but after the ninth year, which was the eighteenth from the passion of the Lord.

“Moreover Peter is said to have sat at Rome for twenty-five years, by Damasus, Eusebius, Jerome and others, therefore, he lived even to the 43rd year after the passion of the Lord, but then he would not have died under Nero, nor even Galba, Otho and Vitellius, but while Vespasian reigned, therefore, Peter died in the reign of Vespasian. Yet Vespasian was a very meek emperor, and he did not kill any Christians at Rome, as all witness. 572 Therefore, Peter died somewhere other than Rome.”

I respond: First, although the Fathers could have erred when they said the Apostle Peter sat at Rome for twenty five years, nevertheless on that account it

would not follow that Peter never sat at Rome, as we proved above by bringing many like things. But there is not need to appeal to those arguments, since Peter truly sat at Rome for twenty five years, and seven at Antioch, and all things still be consistent. This is, then, the true and brief history of the life of St. Peter.

St. Peter remained in Judaea for nearly five years, for which reason St Paul could easily meet Peter in Jerusalem three years after his conversion. And rightly, Eusebius places the journey of Peter to Antioch five years after the Lord's passion. This is also not opposed to that tradition of Thrasea the martyr indeed the Lord did not command that all the Apostles should tarry in Jerusalem for twelve years, it is certain that this is false from the Acts of the Apostles, where we read that Peter set out into Samaria, Lydda, Jopah and Caesarea, before he was cast into prison, and also to the point that, before the 12th year from the passion of Christ: rather, Christ commanded that not all should leave, that always some, or even some from the Apostles would remain in Jerusalem, according to the testimony of Hebrews. Therefore, in the 5th year after the Lord's passion, Peter set out into Syria, he set up his see at Antioch and remained nearly seven years as bishop of that city.

Moreover, it is not probably, what Onuphrius teaches in the additions to Platina, that St. Peter did not st at Antioch unless it was after he returned from Rome. Accordingly he could produce no Father as an author on his behalf Rather, what we teach, is what they taught before us. 573

Still, this must not be so received, as if he never went out from Antioch in that whole time, nay more that he traveled in the same time to nearby provinces, Pontus, Asia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bythinia, thence even he set out in the seventh year of the Antiochene Episcopate, which was the 11th after the Lord's passion, returned to Jerusalem, and there was taken by Herod and thrown into prison, on the days of the unleavened bread, 574 but a little after was freed by an Angel, in the same year, which was the second of Claudius and at the same time he came to Rome, set up his seat there, and held it for twenty-five years.

Still, in that whole time, in which he was the Bishop of Rome, he did not remain at Rome; rather, after that he preached at Rome for seven years returned to Jerusalem, being expelled by Claudius from the city together with the rest of the Jews. Luke writes that Claudius had expelled all the Jews from the city, 575 and Suetonius writes the same thing about Claudius, likewise Josephus, as Orosius cites, and Orosius himself adds that this was done in the ninth year of Claudius, that is the 18th from the Lord's passion. Therefore, they

heard, who were at Antioch, that Peter came into Jerusalem, they sent to him Paul and Barnabas, and then the Council of Jerusalem took place. After Claudius died, however, Peter returned to Rome, and ended his life in the same place.

Nor does the fact that Peter was at Jerusalem a little before the death of Herod contradict this, for it is certain that Herod died in the 3rd year of Claudius. For St. Luke does not say Peter was in bonds a little before the death of Herod, but he rather more indicates the contrary, when he says that after the liberation of Peter from prison, Herod set out for Caesarea, and there, was delayed. This delay, not matter what extent of time means, that at the least it was a year. St. Luke relates after the death of James, and the imprisonment of Peter, immediately after the death of Herod, that he might show the horrible ruin of Herod was a penalty for sin he committed against the Apostles of the Lord.

Chapter VII: Another Five Arguments are Answered

The third persuasion of Velenus is thus: “Peter could not come to Rome even in the ninth year of Claudius, as we proved above, and he could not come afterward, for Claudius, who commanded the Jews to be expelled from the city without a doubt commanded that they should not be received again, therefore Peter never came.”

Yet, we have already shown that Peter, in the 9th year of Claudius, did not come to Rome, but left from Rome, and afterward in the time of Nero returned because in the time of Nero the Jews could be at Rome, as is clear from the last Chapter of Acts, where Paul preaches to the Jews at Rome.

His fourth persuasion: “When Paul condemned Peter at Antioch, the Council of Jerusalem had already been carried out, and nevertheless Peter had not seen Rome.” I respond: He had gone and come back.

The fifth persuasion: “Paul, writing to the Romans, bids greeting to many in the last Chapter; but he does not even mention Peter.” This is not only from Velenus, but also used by Illyricus to show that Peter was never in Rome.

I respond: in the first place, this argument concludes nothing, for otherwise it would follow that John was never a bishop at Ephesus, nor James at Jerusalem, because Paul writing to the Ephesians and the Hebrews, makes no mention of John and James. Next, I say, Paul did not bid Peter to be greeted because he wrote the epistle in that time in which Peter returned from Rome and was living in Syria. For Paul writes the epistle on a journey in which he set out for Jerusalem, where he was also seized. Thus indeed he writes: “And now I set out for Jerusalem to minister to the Saints, as Achaia and Macedonia have provided some alms to make for the poor saints who are in Jerusalem.” 576 In Acts 24, the same Paul, when he made his case at the tribunal of Felix, the governor of Syria, he said: “I come intending to take alms into my nation, and offerings and prayers.”

Next, this captivity of Paul happens in the middle of the period between the Council of Jerusalem and the death of Claudius. Accordingly, after that Council, Paul adds Macedonia and Achaia, where beforehand he had never been, as is clear from Acts XVI. He arrived in Jerusalem while Felix was governor, who was over Syria even to the death of Claudius, and in the

beginning of Nero, as Josephus witnesses. 577 From which it follows, that the epistle to the Romans was written around the 11th or 12th year of Claudius, in which time St. Peter returned to Rome, and again traveled and visited the regions of Syria. What wonder, therefore, if Paul, writing to the Romans, does not great Peter, who it is certain was not at Rome in that time.

The sixth persuasion: "Ambrose says in his commentary on Romans XVI that Narcissus, whom Paul bids greeting, was a Roman Priest: but priest [*presbyter*] and bishop are the same in Paul's writings, therefore, this Narcissus was the Bishop of Rome, hence Peter was not the first Bishop of Rome."

I respond: Narcissus may have been a Roman priest, but without a doub he was not a bishop. Accordingly, Irenaeus, Eusebius, Optatus, Epiphanius Jerome, Augustine, and the rest who wrote a Catalogue of Roman Pontiffs make no mention of this Narcissus. Nor does that oppose the authority o Ambrose, for Ambrose says in his commentary on 1 Timothy III: "Every bishop is a priest, yet not every priest is a bishop." Moreover, Cornelius is quoted by Eusebius as saying that at Rome there was one bishop, but forty six priests. 578

The seventh persuasion: "Paul struck an agreement with Peter, that the latter should be the Apostle of the Jews, while he himself should be the Apostle of the Gentiles. Therefore, how can it have the appearance of truth, that Peter should be so quickly forgetful of this pact, and invade another province, that is Rome, which was the mother of the Gentiles?

"If you say Peter preached to the Jews who were there at Rome, we can say conversely, that while Paul came there and began to preach, they marveled at the novelty of the doctrine, as can be understood from their words in the last Chapter of Acts: "This sect is known to us, because it is gainsaid everywhere yet we ask to hear what you think;" and further down: "They believed these things which were said: but some did not believe, and when they say that they were not in agreement, they left."

I respond. Firstly, the "treaty" between Peter and Paul was not such that Peter could only preach to the Jews, or in Judea, while Paul could only preach to the Gentiles, or outside of Judaea: rather, that Peter should preach to all in every place he would, but principally to the Jews; and Paul to all and in every place he wished, but principally to the Gentiles, otherwise Paul could be said to have invaded a foreign province when coming to Rome, he soon began to preach to the Jews, as is clear from the last Chapter of Acts. Moreover, were this the case, Peter not only should not have come to Rome, but also neither to

Antioch, Asia, Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia and Bythinia, all places to which Velenus affirms that Peter went to.

Velenus is also wrong when he says that the Jews at Rome marveled at the novelty of doctrine, on the occasion that Paul preached Christ to them, as though no one before had preached anything like it. For, if no one had preached to the Jews at Rome before Paul came there, who converted the Roman Jews to whom he wrote his epistle? Certainly, part of the Epistle to the Romans was written to the Gentiles, and part of it to the Jews who had converted to the faith of Christ, for therefore, he disputes in the first four chapters on justification from faith without works of the law, against the pride of the Jews, who attributed the coming of the Messiah to their own merits. And in Chapter XIV he treats on those who still Judaized, abstaining from certain unclean foods according to the law. And in Chapter XVI, he greets many Christians who were certainly converts from the Jews.

Yet maybe someone will say, if the epistle to the Romans was written while Claudius, who expelled the Jews from Rome, was alive, who then are these Jews to whom Paul bids greeting? The Jews could scarcely return while Claudius lived.

I respond, it is not only believable that a little after the expulsion the Jews were able to return, but they did so without a doubt. For, Paul in Acts XVIII discovered Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth, Jews who recently had come from the city, expelled by Claudius. Next, he stayed in Achaia for a year and six months, and in Asia for two years, then began a journey to Jerusalem; and also on that journey he wrote to the Romans and bid greeting to Aquila and Priscilla, who now had gone back to Rome.

Now to the question of the words of the Jews: “We ask from you to hear what you think, etc.” I say these words were not of all the Jews who were at Rome, but only of those who were still not converted to the faith of Christ apart from which many others living at Rome whom Peter converted. Nor is it shown by those words, that they never heard the preaching of Christ, but still had not been persuaded, and therefore, wished to hear from Paul, and although they were efficaciously convinced by him, some were persuaded that they should believe, and part of them remained in their obstinacy.

Chapter VIII: Another Eight Arguments are Answered

Persuasions 8-15 are taken from the last Chapter of Acts of the Apostles and the epistles which Paul wrote from Rome, without a doubt to the Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, Hebrews, Timothy and Philemon, and from letters of Paul to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul, for in all these writings there was an occasion of speaking about Peter, if he was at Rome: yet a marvelous silence is found everywhere.

Our opponents say that it so happens, that not only is Peter not said to be a Rome in these places, but they even openly say he was not there. For Philippians II says about those who were at Rome: “All strive for what is their own.” And in the last Chapter of Collosians: “Aristarchus, my fellow captive greets you, and Mark the cousin of Barnabas, and Jesus who is called Justus, these alone are my helpers in the kingdom of God.” And in 2 Timothy IV, “In my first defense, no one assisted me, rather all left me behind.” Therefore either Peter was not at Rome, or Paul did him a very great injury, since he numbers him among those who seek their own things, and who were not helpers in the kingdom of God; and who deserted him in a tight spot. Now this argument is not only of Velenus, but also of Calvin.

I respond: Firstly, nothing is concluded from an appeal to a negative authority. Indeed, it does not follow that because Luke, Paul and Seneca do not say that Peter was at Rome, therefore, Peter was not there. Further, these three ought not to say everything, and something is more believed with three affirming witnesses than from a thousand who say nothing, they merely do not deny what others affirm. Otherwise, it would follow that because Matthew does not write in his Gospel that Christ was circumcised, that Mark did not recall the presentation, Luke does not mention the new star and John does not say that Christ was born from the Virgin Mary that all these will be false, which is absolutely absurd.

In regard to those three citations from Scripture, they do not deny that Peter was then in Rome; for although in Colossians Paul says: “Only these are my helpers in the kingdom of God,” he is only speaking on his household, who usually ministered with him. It is in the same manner how when he says in 2 Timothy IV, he says: “Luke alone is with me,” it is concerning his household and ministers. Therefore, it is certain from the last Chapter of the Epistle to the

Romans, that many others, both Jews and Gentiles, were converted to the faith at Rome, who promoted the kingdom of God. And in the epistle to the Philippians, when he says: “All seek what are theirs,” it is understood figuratively, he speaks only on certain ones, not on all absolutely. For he had said in the same place a little before, that Timothy was with him, who certainly was not seeking what was his own. He had also said in the First Chapter, that some preached the Gospel *from charity*, and hence did not seek what was there own, but that which is of Jesus Christ.

Lastly, in 2 Tim. IV, where he says: “No one assisted me, but all left me behind,” which among other things, Calvin urges that he does not speak except about those who could help him with Caesar. For he says in the same place, that Luke was then with him, and nevertheless he speaks generally: “No man assisted me, rather all left me behind.” Certainly Peter could not help him since he was no less hated by Caesar than Paul. Therefore, he only speaks of certain Roman nobles, who could go to Caesar on his behalf, but did not for fear of the tyrant.

Secondly, one could respond that in the time in which Paul came to Rome and in which he wrote his epistles, Peter was not at Rome. For, although he had set up his seat at Rome, nevertheless he often left, since it was fitting to establish the Churches in different places, as Epiphanius records. 579 For on that account, Peter took up for himself Linus and Cletus as helpers, who attended to his Episcopal duties in his absence.

Chapter IX: The Sixteenth Argument is Answered

Velenus gives as persuasion 16: “Ambrose says: ‘[Peter and Paul] died or he same day, in the same place under the sentence of the same tyrant.’ 580 Bu Linus, in the passions of Peter and Paul, says that they did not suffer in the same time, nor in the same place, nor at the pleasure of the same tyrant.

“Besides, Josephus, who lived at the time of Nero, wrote a history at Rome on the Jewish war, and in that makes mention of those killed by Nero, yet still he does not mention Peter, whom he certainly would not have omitted if he was truly killed by Nero. Josephus was a friend of Christians, and gladly mentioned them when the occasion was given. He writes about the death of Christ 581 and John the Baptist in the same place, as well as James. 582

“Add that Peter was an old man when Paul was a youth; for after the passion of the Lord, Paul is called a youth in Acts VII, in which time Peter already had a wife and, as the oldest of all the Apostles, was held to be first among them: till Paul attained to old age, as he wrote in the epistle to Philemon, therefore, that they died at the same time lacks the appearance of truth.”

This argument can be easily refuted. In the first part of the argument Velenus errs twice. First, he affirms elsewhere that the history of Linus was fabricated, and still from that he says the teaching of Ambrose is refuted. If indeed the history of Linus was fabricated, it lacks all authority. If it lacks all authority, how can it thence refute the teaching of Ambrose, an author of very great Authority? Next, he errs, because in the same place Ambrose understands the same part of the city, and thence he would have it that Ambrose differs from others, who say the Apostles were killed in different parts of the same city. Yet Ambrose in the same place understands the same city, not the same part of the city. Thus he adds: “In the same place, for another Rome would be wanting.”

Now to the argument from Josephus. First I say, Josephus himself responded in his work *On the Jewish War*, 583 where he says he wished to pass over in silence the crimes of Nero, that he killed his mother and wife and like things, since he knew the tale is troublesome and he says these things rightly for he dedicated the books to Roman Emperors, who do not gladly hear their predecessors reproached. Next the argument on the author can be turned back upon on itself; for Velenus says in the same place, that Peter was killed in Jerusalem, by the command of Ananus the Jewish High Priest. Therefore, I ask

ıow it is that Josephus, who writes on the deeds of this Ananus and the mer whom he killed, 584still makes no mention of Peter in that place? Thus Velenus s hoisted by his own petard.

Now in regards to age, I say that Peter was not old when Paul was said tc ɔe a youth, rather a man of mature age. That he had a wife and was first of the Apostles is no argument except that he was of virile age. It is not credible in ıny way that old men were chosen by Christ to carry out the greatest labors and ourney through nearly the whole world. Just the same it is not believable tha Paul as a teenager would be taken up to the Apostolic dignity, which pertained o the care of every Church. 585

At length, Peter was not beyond fifty years when Paul was around twenty ive, that is, twice his age: nevertheless, they could still both be old and die ogether, indeed in the last year of Nero, Peter would have been about 86, and Paul 61.

Chapter X: The Seventh Argument is Answered

The 17th persuasion of Velenus. “Scripture and the Fathers openly teach hat Peter and Paul were killed in Jerusalem by the Scribes and Pharisees, not a Rome by the Emperors. For Matthew XXIII says: ‘Behold I send to you Prophets and the Wise, and Scribes, and from them you will kill, and crucify and scourge them in your Synagogues.’ In which place Chrysostom says: ‘He understands the Apostles, and those who were with them.’ And Jerome on the same place: “Observe that according to each Apostle are different gifts of the disciples of Christ, some Prophets, who were coming to preach, others the Wise, who knew when they ought to advance a sermon, others, Scribes, learned in the law, among which was Stephen whom they stoned; Paul was killed, Peter was crucified, the disciples were scourged in the Acts of the Apostles. Likewise Nicholas Lyranus says on the same citation: ‘From them you will kill ust like James the brother of John, and Stephen and many others, and you will crucify them, like Peter and Andrew his brother.’”

I respond: from the words of the Lord in Matthew XXIII, and the exposition of Chrysostom, one could gather nothing against our teaching. For he Lord and St. John Chrysostom do not say all the Apostles were to be killed by the Jews in Jerusalem, but only some. Indeed that is shown from the sentence: “From those you will kill and crucify, etc.” And that was fulfilled in Stephen, whom they stoned in Acts VII, and in James the Elder, whom Herod killed for the sake of the Jews in Acts XII, and James the Younger, whom the Jews themselves killed in Jerusalem, as Josephus witnesses, 586 as well as Simeon the successor of James, who was crucified in Jerusalem, as Eusebius teaches in his *Chronicle*. To that we could add Mathias, whom many think probably was crucified in Judaea.

But if the Lord spoke about all the Apostles, as Velenus contends, then all histories must be denied, which witness that Andrew died in Achaia, Philip and John in Asia, Thomas in India, Bartholomew in Armenia, Matthew in Ethiopia as well as Simon and Jude in Asia.

As for St. Jerome, he does not mean that Peter and Paul were killed at Jerusalem, since he eloquently taught in *de Viris Illustribus* that they were killed at Rome by Nero; rather he deduces from the words of the Lord different gifts, and different deaths of the disciples of Christ. Since the Lord had said that he was going to send Prophets, and Wise Men, and Scribes Jerome observed

he different gifts of the Apostles, since again the Lord said: “Some you wil
kill, some you will crucify,” the same Jerome observed that the disciples would
pass from this life by different kinds of death, and places the examples of
Stephen being stoned, Paul being beheaded, and Peter crucified. Therefore
hey do not press these examples in order that we would understand that certain
of the disciples were going to be killed by the Jews, but only in that, rather
only in that we might learn there were to be different kinds of martyrs.

Next, Nicholas Lyranus is not of such authority, that he ought to oppose all
he ancient Fathers and Histories, which hand down that Peter was killed at
Rome by Nero, and Andrew in Achaia by Egaea. It happened, without a doubt
hat Lyranus followed Jerome, and wished only to say that Peter and Andrew
were crucified for Christ, however less carefully he spoke.

Chapter XI: The Last Argument is Answered

The last persuasion of Velenus is thus. “Since errors are often fabricated about recent deeds, concerning both distant and disturbed times, could not flatterers of the Roman Curia fabricate the coming of Peter to Rome, his Passion and Pontificate?”

But if Irenaeus, Tertullian, Eusebius and thirty or forty other cited Fathers were flatterers of the Roman Curia, Velenus speaks rightly. But if, on the contrary, on their side they are very ancient, as Irenaeus and Tertullian are, in whose times the Roman Church was not yet so opulent that it could even have flatterers; some are Greeks, as Eusebius, Theodoret, Sozomen and others whose nation was rather more of the habit to envy than make obeisance to the Roman Church; besides, most of them were nearly all holy men, such as Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom and others, whose morals were far from the fawning of vices, certainly it follows, that Velenus, who calls these men flatterers of the Roman Curia, impudently lies.

Besides, the argument has no value. For errors are fabricated both from recent deeds as well as from ancient ones, when matters are carried out secretly and without witnesses, or in regard to the number of years, or like circumstances, which are easily given to oblivion: but not in regard to the chief matter, as well as the substance of very famous matters, especially when, apart from the testimony of writers, there also exist stone monuments or much bronze, as in the matter on which we treat. And I have reckoned these can suffice for this disputation, from which I have received published in the famous book long ago of John of Rochester [St. John Fisher], a man of Blessed Memory, though I have never been able to see the book itself.

Chapter XII: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is Proven by Divine Law and by the plan of Succession

We have proven to this point, that the Roman Pontiff succeeds Peter in the Roman Episcopate: now we hasten to prove the matter on the succession to the primacy of the Universal Church. All of the heretics of our day deny this, and they especially oppose the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. 587 And before all these Nilus, the bishop of Thessalonica, in his book against the primacy of the Pope.

Nilus, however, does not deny that Peter was the pastor of the whole Church, and managed the Episcopate at Rome until his death, but contends this alone, that the Roman Pontiff does not succeed Peter in command of the whole Catholic Church, but only in the Roman Episcopate. He adds that, afterward, a certain Roman Pontiff had first place in the decree of Councils, that he should be the first of bishops, the first to sit, the first to give his teaching; still, not that he should command the rest.

Now since the arguments of our adversaries are such that they are taken from the same fonts and chapters, we shall reduce all disputation to a few points or kinds of arguments and together we will prove the truth and refute the objections of others. First, it will be proved that the Roman Pontiff succeeds Peter in the Pontificate of the Universal Church, by divine law and reason of succession. Someone ought to succeed Peter by divine law: he can not be any other than the Roman Pontiff, therefore, he succeeds.

John Calvin denies each part of the argument. He argues: "Were I to concede what they ask with regard to Peter, that he was the Prince of the Apostles and surpassed the others in dignity, there is no ground for making a universal rule out of a special example, or wresting a single fact into a perpetual enactment" 588 And again: "I will now bestow on them another [concession], which they will never obtain from men of sound mind, that the primacy of the Church was so constituted in Peter, that it should always remain by means of a perpetual succession. Still, how will they prove that his See was so fixed at Rome, that whosoever becomes bishop of that city is to govern the whole world?" 589

Therefore, we shall prove each separately. First, that it is fitting for someone to succeed Peter in the Pontificate of the Universal Church, is gathered from the end of the Pontificate. For it is certain that there is a Pope because of the Church, not a Church because of the Pope. St. Augustine says as much: “That for which we are Christians, is on account of us; that which we are put in charge of, is on your account.” 590 The Church at present requires a shepherd no less than in the time of the Apostles, rather even more now, since there are more and worse Christians. For that reason, when Peter was at the point of death, the Pontificate ought not to have ceased, seeing that it had been established not for the brief time of Peter, but for the advantage of the Church. Since it remains and perseveres, as long as the Church herself remains, or certainly as long as it sojourns on earth, it also has need of one supreme pastor for care and vigilance.

Secondly, it is considered from the unity of the Church. For the Church is one and the same in every time, therefore, the form of rule ought not be changed, which is the form of the commonwealth and the state. Why, if in the time of the Apostles there was one supreme ruler and head of the Church, ought there not be now?

Thirdly, from the words of the Lord in the last Chapter of John: “Feed my sheep.” For the duty of a shepherd, is an ordinary and perpetual duty accordingly from the nature of the thing, the office of pastor ought to endure for as long a time as the sheepfold. Moreover, the sheepfold remains and will remain, even to the end of the world, therefore, in the matter it is necessary for the successors of Peter to remain in that supreme pastoral office.

Fourthly, from the same citation, for when the Lord says to Peter: “Feed my sheep,” he consigned all his sheep to him, as we showed above, not only all by reason of the citation, but even by reason of time, since Christ ought to provide for us no less than the ancients: but Peter was not always going to live in the flesh, therefore, when the Lord said to him: “Feed my sheep,” he spoke to all his successors in him. Therefore, St. John Chrysostom says: “For what purpose did he shed his blood? Certainly that he should acquire these sheep whose care he consigned both to Peter and the successors of Peter.” 591 And St. Leo says: “The disposition of truth remains, and blessed Peter, persevering in that strength of the rock which he had received, did not leave behind the governance of the Church that he had received. Obviously Peter perseveres and lives in his successors.” 592 And St. Peter, the Bishop of Ravenna, in his

epistle to Eutychus says: “St. Peter, who lives in and is in charge of his own see, furnishes truth to those seeking the faith.”

Fifthly, the Church is one body, and has its own head on earth apart from Christ, as is clear from 1 Corinthians XII after Paul said the Church is one body, he adds: “The head cannot say to the feet ‘you are not necessary to me;’’ which certainly does not agree to Christ. He can say to all of yours, you are not necessary to me, no other head can be assigned there apart from Peter; nor ought the body of the Church to remain without a head with the death of Peter herefore, it is necessary that someone should succeed Peter.

Sixthly, in the Old Testament there was a succession of high Priests. For Eleazar succeeded Aaron, 593 and Phineas succeeded Eleazar, 594 and thus the rest. But the priesthood of the Old Testament was a figure of the priesthood of he New Testament, therefore, succession ought to be preserved in the see of Peter, the first and greatest of Christian bishops.

Next, all arguments, whereby it is proved in the second question, that the ule of the Church ought to be a Monarchy, also prove this, which we are now reating.

Moreover, that this successor of Peter should be the Roman Pontiff, can easily be proved. There never is or was one who asserted that he is the uccessor of Peter by any other way, or that he should be taken for such, apart rom being the Bishop of Rome and Antioch. Yet, notwithstanding, the Bishop of Antioch does not succeed Peter in the Pontificate of the whole Church, for one does not succeed unless the place is yielded, either through natural death or through legitimate death, that is, deposition or renunciation. But while Peter was still living and managing the Pontificate, he relinquished the Antiochene Church and set up his seat at Rome, as we proved in a question above Therefore, it remains that the Roman Bishop, who succeeded Peter after he lied in the city of Rome, succeeds to the same in its whole dignity and power.

Besides, if the Bishop of Antioch succeeded Peter in the supreme Pontificate, it would be the first Church. But in the council of Nicaea, Canon 6 hey declared the Bishop of Antioch to be in the third place, not the first or econd, just as it had always been, nor did the Bishops of Antioch ever seek a higher place.

In order that this whole matter might be better understood, a few things must be observed. First, succession is one thing, while the cause of the uccession is another. The succession of the Roman Pontiff into the pontificate of Peter is from the establishment of Christ: moreover, the cause of the

succession whereby the Roman Pontiff, instead of the Bishop of Antioch or someone else should succeed, has its beginning in act of Peter. I say the succession itself was established by Christ, and is of divine law, because Christ himself established in Peter a pontificate that was going to endure even to the end of the world, and hence, whoever succeeds Peter, receives the pontificate of Christ.

But on the other hand, because the Bishop of Rome, since he is the Bishop of Rome, becomes the successor of Peter, he has his origin in the act of Peter not from the first establishment of Christ. For Peter could not have ever chosen any particular seat for himself, just as he did in the first five years, and then were he to die, could the Bishop of Rome or Antioch succeed; rather, that [see] which he would have chosen for himself as a Church. He could have always remained at Antioch, and then the Bishop of Antioch without a doubt would have succeeded, but since he set up his seat at Rome, and held it even to death hence it came to pass, that the Roman Pontiff succeeded him.

Now, because Pope St. Marcellus writes in his epistle to the Antiochenes that Peter came to Rome at the Lord's command, as well as many other Fathers [595] that Peter endured martyrdom at Rome by Christ's command: it is not improbable that the Lord openly commanded that Peter should so set up his seat at Rome that the Roman Bishop should absolutely succeed him. Yet whatever the truth of that, at least the cause of the succession is not from the first establishment of the Pontificate, which is read in the Gospel.

The Second thing that must be observed, (although perhaps it may not be of divine law) is that the Roman Pontiff, because he is the Roman Pontiff succeeds Peter in the rule of the whole Church; still, if anyone absolutely should ask whether the Roman Pontiff should be the pastor and head of the whole Church by divine law, it must altogether be asserted. For on this point nothing else is required, than that the succession itself should be of divine law this is, that the ordinary office of governing the whole Church with supreme power, is not from men, but was established immediately by God; besides, this was proven above.

Thirdly, it must be observed, although by chance it might not be by divine law, that the Roman Pontiff as Roman Pontiff succeeds Peter, nevertheless it pertains to Catholic faith. It is not the same thing, for something to be *de fide* and to be by divine law. It was not by divine law that Paul had a cloak, still this is *de fide* that Paul had a cloak. [596] Although, that the Roman Pontiff succeeds Peter may not be expressly contained in the Scriptures, nevertheless that

someone succeeds Peter is deduced evidently from the Scriptures; that it is the Roman Pontiff, is contained in the Apostolic Tradition of Peter, the same tradition declared by the general Councils, the decrees of Pontiffs, and the consensus of the Fathers, as we will show a little later.

The last thing which must be observed, is that the Bishop of Rome and the rule of the universal Church are not two Episcopates, nor two seats, except in power. For Peter was established as Pontiff of the whole Church by Christ, he did not add to himself the Episcopate of the city of Rome, in the manner whereby the bishop of some place might add to himself another bishopric, or Canonry, or Abbacy, rather, he carried the Episcopate of the city of Rome to the supreme Pontificate of the whole world, in the same way that a simple Episcopacy is raised into an Archepiscopate, or a Patriarchate. Therefore, the Archbishop or Patriarch is not twice or three times a bishop, but only once, and in the sign of this affair, no more than one pallium is given to the Supreme Pontiff, even if he is a bishop, archbishop, patriarch and Supreme Pontiff. All these are one in act, and merely many things in power.

From which it follows, that one who is chosen as the Bishop of Rome, in the very matter becomes supreme Pontiff of the whole Church, even if by chance the electors do not express it. But now we shall respond to the objections of Nilus of Thessalonika and Calvin.

The first objection of Nilus: “The Roman Pontiff has primacy from the Fathers because that city ruled the whole world, as we read in the Council of Chalcedon, act. 16. Therefore, he does not have a perpetual succession from Peter.” I respond: That decree was illegitimate, and was made by those protesting who presided over the Council. We will speak much more of this in Chapter XXVII.

The Second objection of Nilus: “The Roman Pontiff is not an Apostle, but merely a bishop; as such, Apostles do not ordain Apostles, but pastors and teachers: therefore, the Roman Pope does not succeed Peter in Apostolic power which was over every Church, but only in the particular Episcopate of Rome.

I respond: In the Apostolate three things are contained. Firstly, that one who is an Apostle should be immediately a minister of the word, so that he should be taught by God himself, and can write holy books; and we affirm that this is not appropriate to the Roman Pontiff. Indeed it is not necessary that he should have new revelations daily, and write new holy books. Secondly, that one who is an Apostle should constitute Church and propagate the faith in those places where it never was. Now this does pertain to the Roman Pontiff, which

both reason and experience itself teach us. For, from Apostolic times, those who founded Churches in different parts of the world, and still found them were Roman Pontiffs. Thirdly, that one who is an Apostle should have supreme power over every Church, and we contend this also pertains to the Roman Pontiff, for this reason, because he succeeds Peter, in whom this power is ordinary, not delegated, as in the other Apostles.

Nor does Nilus conclude the argument, when he says that Apostles do not constitute other Apostles, but pastors. The Apostles ought not create the Roman Pontiff as Pontiff of the whole Church, or Apostolic Pontiff, since Christ himself did this. This is why the seat of the Roman Pontiff is always called by all the Fathers the "Apostolic Seat", and in the Council of Chalcedon itself in Act 1, which Nilus cites, the dignity of the Pope of Rome is called "The Apostolate", and in act. 16 his seat is called "Apostolic."

The third objection. "Peter was pastor and teacher of the whole world, but he Pope is and was only called the Bishop of the city of Rome." I respond That is false, and it can be seen from the Council of Chalcedon itself, omitting he rest. For in act 3, three epistles of the Eastern Bishops to Leo are read, and n all Leo is called "Pope of the universal Church", and the same name is contained in act 16.

The fourth objection: "Peter ordained bishops at Antioch and Alexandria but that is not permitted to the Roman Pope." I respond: Although in this time he obstinacy of the Greeks does not allow it, nevertheless this was formerly permitted to the Roman Pontiff. For in the Council of Chalcedon, Act. 7, we read that Maximus, the Bishop of Antioch, was received by the Council because he had been confirmed by Pope St. Leo. Liberatus and John Zonara 597 also write that Anthimus the Bishop of Constantinople was deposed by Pope Agapitus, and in his place, Menas was ordained by the same Pope. But we will have many things to say about this in its proper place.

The fifth objection. "Whatever Peter said or wrote, is an oracle of the Holy Spirit. But this is not fitting to the office of Pope. Therefore, the Pope does not have all the prerogatives of Peter." I respond: We do not contend that point.

The sixth objection: "It, was said to Peter without condition, 'Whatever you bind will be bound, etc.' But Peter commanded the Roman Pope, that he will only bind that or loose what rightly must be bound or loosed." I respond Nothing is proved by this argument other than Nilus was truly a Greek, that is rifling and talkative. Who ever heard that it was permitted to Peter to bind

what should not rightly be bound? And where is that prescription of Peter to a Pope contained which Nilus advances?

Calvin objects firstly: “It does not follow that if Peter was in charge of twelve Apostles in the beginning, that now someone ought to be in charge of the whole world, for a few may easily and advantageously be ruled by one man, but many thousands cannot be governed unless it is by many.” 598

I respond: In the first place, Peter was not merely in charge of the twelve apostles, but also many thousands of Christians. In the last Chapter of John Christ consigned to Peter all his sheep, not merely the twelve apostles Moreover, we read in Acts II that the sheep of Peter increased to three thousand, and in Acts IV to five thousand in Jerusalem alone. Thereupon, in a place where there are many men, so much more do they require one ruler, by whom they should be contained in unity. But this was spoken of at length in the first question.

Secondly, Calvin objects in the same place: “If therefore, the seat of the supreme Pontificate is at Rome, because Peter the Apostle died there while managing the Pontificate, therefore, the seat of the Jewish Pontificate should always have been in the desert, because there Moses and Aaron died while managing their Pontificate: and the Pontifical seat of Christians ought to be in Jerusalem, because there Christ, the High Priest [*summus Pontifex*] died.” 599

I respond, from the foregoing, the pontifical seat is not at Rome for the reason that Peter died there, but because he was the Bishop of Rome, and he never transferred the seat from Rome to another place. Moses and Aaron, on the other hand, did not set up a seat in the desert, but died there while they were on a journey. Furthermore, Christ did not set up a seat at Jerusalem, nor in any particular place, as we said above.

The third objection of Calvin is from the same place: “This privilege concerning the primacy of the whole Church, is either local, or personal, or mixed. If the first, then it was conceded once at Antioch, it cannot be taken from there, even if Peter left there and died somewhere else. If the second therefore, it has nothing to do with place and Rome has no more right to the Pontificate than any other city. If the third, then it does not suffice for this to be the bishop of Rome, that someone should have the primacy. For if it is a privilege partly local, partly personal, it is not given to a place except for a time, in which such a person is there, namely Peter.” 600

I respond: when it was first established by Christ the Pontifical dignity was personal; nevertheless, by a deed of Peter, it was made afterward local, or

ather mixed, not without divine assent. I say it was personal in the beginning because it was not bound to any particular place by Christ, but absolutely conferred to the person of Peter: thus, although I affirm it was personal, still it was public not private.

Personal privileges are said to be private, which are given to some person merely for himself, but public privileges are those which are given for oneself and his successors. Still, since Peter set up his seat at Rome, it came to pass that his privilege was also local, and hence mixed. For it is bound to the city of Rome, as long as the successors of Peter retain the seat at Rome. For if the seat were to be transferred by divine law, then the Roman Bishops would no longer be the bishops of the whole Church. If the seat itself were to be transferred, I say, so that those who are now Roman Pontiffs would be called bishops of some other place. Furthermore, it is not said that the seat is transferred if the Pontiffs are merely absent from the city. Whereas these have been said hypothetically, we do not believe it is ever going to happen, that the seat of Peter will be transferred to another place.

The fourth objection of Calvin is from the same place. “If the Roman Pontiff, because he succeeds Peter, is the first bishop, then Ephesus ought to be second, Jerusalem third, and thus for the rest: but we see that Alexandria was second, where no one succeeded an Apostle; Ephesus could not even cling to the outermost corner.” 601

I respond: The order and number of the Patriarchal sees does not depend upon the dignity of the first bishops, otherwise there would not be three, rather twelve for the number of Apostles, but solely from the dignity and will of Peter as we showed above from Anacletus, Leo and Gregory on the third question on the prerogatives of Peter.

The fifth objection of Calvin is from the same book: “If the words which are said to Peter are also understood for his successors, then the Roman Pontiffs affirm that they are all Satans. For this was also said to Peter in Matthew XVI in the same place where it was said: ‘To you I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.’” 602

I respond: The words which are said to Peter differ in a threefold manner some are said to him in regard to him alone, some in regard to him and all Christians, some in regard to him and his successors. Now, that which is evidently gathered to have been said to him was for a different purpose. For those which are said to him, as to one from all the faithful, are certainly understood about all the faithful, as in Matthew XVIII: “If your brother will

have sinned against you, etc." Those which are said for the purpose of his own proper person, are said to him alone, such as: "Get behind me Satan," and "You will deny me three times." These were said due to his own imbecility and ignorance. At length, those which are said to him by reason of his pastoral office, which hence are understood for all pastors, such as: "Feed my sheep," and "Confirm your brethren," and "Whatsoever you will have bound, etc."

Luther's arguments are mere trifles, and can easily be answered from the foregoing: and besides, they were carefully answered by Eck, Fabro, St. John Fisher and Cajetan, whose books are in everyone's hands; therefore, I pass them over.

Chapter XIII: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is proven from Councils

The Primacy of the Roman Pontiff must be proved in the second place from Councils. Indeed Luther, 603 Illyricus, 604 and Calvin 605 say, that the Sixth Canon of the Council of Nicaea opposes us, in which a certain region is assigned to the Roman Pontiff to govern, and at that a scanty region. He is declared to be just one of the Patriarchs, but not the head of the others. Moreover, they could not discover the testimony of any Council on our behalf. Just the same, there are as illustrious testimonies as there could be of the general Councils for the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, from which nine were general, as in them, Latins and Greeks were present (with respect to which it must be remarked against the trifling and obstinacy of the Greeks).

First we have the Council of Nicaea, and that 6th Canon which are adversaries are using to object, but this canon requires some explanation in order that the argument can be taken up from there. The Sixth Canon of Nicaea is thus held in the volumes of the Councils which today are extant: "Let the most ancient custom endure in Egypt, or Lybia, and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria should have power over all of these, because at least the Bishop of Rome also has a like custom."

Some things must be noted about this canon. First, from Nicholas I, in a letter to [the emperor] Michael, the Council of Nicaea stated nothing about the Roman Church, because its power is not from men but from God. Rather, it only constituted the state of other Churches according to the form of the Roman Church. Therefore, the Council does not say: "Let the Bishop of Rome have administration of this or that region, but says: "Let the bishop of Alexandria have care of Egypt and Lybia, because the Bishop of Rome is so accustomed.' Obviously, the Roman Church should be the rule of the others, and nothing is stated about her properly. Therefore, Calvin, Illyricus, Nilus and the rest err when they say that certain boundaries were assigned to the Bishop of Rome that without a doubt he should only have care of the suburban Churches.

Secondly, it must be observed that the beginning of this canon is missing in the ordinary books, which is thus: "The Roman Church always has primacy. Moreover let the custom endure, etc." Thus this canon is cited in the Council of

Chalcedon, Act 16, by the Bishop Paschasinus. Thus also it is altered in the Greek about a thousand years ago by Dionisius, a certain Abbot, as Alan Copus records in the first Dialogue. For that reason, in the same council of Chalcedon Act 16, after a reading of this canon, namely the Sixth Canon of Nicaea, the judges said: “We carefully assess all the primacy and particular honor according to the canons, preserved by our God-loving Archbishop of old Rome.”

A third thing must be observed; the words “Because the Bishop of Rome has such a custom,” is usually explained in four ways. Firstly, as Ruffinus explains, The Council decreed that the Bishop of Alexandria should have care of Egypt, just as the Bishop of Rome has care of the suburban Churches. 606

But it is a false exposition, for if the Bishop of Rome is the first and particular Patriarch, how believable is it that he is assigned a very narrow region, while to lesser Patriarchs a very broad one is assigned? For Antioch had the whole East, and Alexandria three vast provinces, Egypt, Lybia and Pentapolis, but Rome would have had only the Churches around the city, that is, six Episcopates near to Rome. Next, that conjunction *because* [*quoniam*], is a measurable part of speech; but it is not a good cause for asserting that the Bishop of Alexandria would have care of three provinces, because the Roman Bishop has care of the Churches near the city. Therefore, either the reasoning of the Council avails to nothing, or Ruffinus did not correctly explain the opinion of the Council. Finally, the Churches around the city are not mentioned in the Council of Nicaea, neither as it is cited in the Sixth Council of Carthage, nor as it is read in the Sixteenth Act of the Council of Chalcedon, nor as it is contained in its own place in the volumes of Councils, or even as it is with Abbot Dionysius; rather, it says: “Let the most ancient custom endure in Egypt or Lybia, and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria should have power over all of these, because at least the Bishop of Rome also has a like custom.’ Therefore, the opinion of Ruffinus is just pure divination, which Calvin follows, on the Churches near the city.

The second explanation is of Theodore Balsamon, in his explanation of these canons, as well as in the book of Nilus against the Primacy, that the Council decreed that the Bishop of Alexandria should have care of all of Egypt just as the Bishop of Rome has care of the whole west.

This opinion is certainly more generous, but nevertheless false. For when the Council says: “Because the Bishop of Rome has such a custom,” it gives the reasoning as we said about why the ancient custom ought to remain in

Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, because the Bishop of Alexandria should have care of those places. Moreover, that the Bishop of Rome has care of the west is not the origion of this affair. How does it follow that the Bishop of Rome has care of the west, therefore, Alexandria ought to have care of Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis? Or why will the Bishop of Alexandria, and not of Carthage, or someone else have care of it? Add, that the Council does not mention the West nor the East, but it only says: "Because the Bishop of Rome has such a custom."

The third explanation is of the great historian of the Councils. He reckons from some ancient codex, that in place of the phrase we have, "Because the Bishop of Rome has such a custom," the phrase, "Because a Metropolitan has such a custom" should be restored in place of it.

Yet this is not a solid explanation either. There are no better copies extan of the Council of Nicaea than those possessed by the ancient Roman Pontiffs as we will show below when we will treat on titles; for the copies which were in Greek, were thoroughly burnt by the Arians, as St. Athanasius witnesses in his epistles to all the orthodox bishops, and therefore, it is no wonder if those which are cited by the Greeks and Ruffinus are mutilated and corrupted. Next those contained by the Roman Church are the ones from which Bishop Paschasinus brought as a legate to the Council of Chalcedon for Pope St. Leo where this canon was read to the Council, and likewise we read there: "Because the Bishop of Rome has such a custom." Add that, it is not good reasoning why the Bishop of Alexandria ought to have such power, because Metropolitans had such a custom. For Metropolitans do not rule more than one province; and Alexandria had many provinces, and many Metropolitans were subject to it.

Then the fourth explanation is the true one, that Alexandria ought to govern those provinces, because the Bishop of Rome was so accustomed, that is, because the Bishop of Rome customarily permitted the Bishop of Alexandria to rule Egypt, Lybia and Pentapolis before the definition of any council; or it was his custom to govern those provinces through the Bishop of Alexandria. Nicholas I understood this canon in that way in his epistle to the Empoeror Michael, nor does any other probable explanation appear.

The First General Council of Constantinople in its letter to Damasus which is extant in Theodoret, 607 says that it met in the city of Constantinople from the command of the letter of the Pope, sent to it through the Emperor. And in the same place, it affirms that the Roman Church is the head, and it is among the members.

The Council of Ephesus, as it is found in Evagrius, 608 says that it deposed Nestorius by a command of a letter of the Roman Pope Celestine. Also, in the letter to the same Celestine, the same Council writes that it did not dare to judge the case of John, the Patriarch of Antioch, which was more dubious than the case of Nestorious, thus it reserved its judgment for Celestine. All of which especially indicates the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff. The Council of Chalcedon, in Acts 1, 2, and 3, and in numerous other places, calls St. Leo 'Pontiff of the universal Church." And in an epistle to Leo: "And after all these things, and against him that was consigned care of the vineyard by the Savior he extended insanity, that is, against your Apostolic Sanctity." You see that this great Council confesses that the Roman Pontiff was consigned care of the vineyard by God himself, that is of the universal Church.

The Synod of Constantinople, which was gathered before the fifth Synod over the case of Antimus, so speaks in Act 4 through Menas, the Patriarch of the Council: "We follow the apostolic seat, and obey it. We hold those communicating with it as communicating with us, and we likewise condemn those condemned by it." Now, if the whole Council professes itself to obey the Apostolic seat, certainly the Apostolic seat is over the whole Church with authority.

The Third Council of Constantinople, in Act 2, receives and approves the epistle of Pope Adrian to Tharasius, in which these words are contained 'Whose seat, it is becoming that it obtains primacy over the whole world, and as the head arises over every Church of God; From where even the blessed Apostle Peter himself, feeding the Church by a command of God, altogether overlooks nothing, rather obtained and obtains supremacy everywhere, etc.' Mark that it is said in the present: "it is becoming that it obtains the primacy;' and "As the head arises, etc."

The Third Lateran Council under Innocent III, in which the Greeks and Latins were present, says in Chapter 5, "The Roman Church, by a dispensation of the Lord, obtains supremacy of ordinary power over all others, in as much as she is the mother and teacher of all the faithful of Christ." The General Council of Lyons under Gregory X, calls the Bishop of Rome the Vicar of Christ, the Successor of Peter, the Ruler of the Universal Church, and in this council both Greeks and Latins were present. 609

Next, the Council of Florence, stated with the agreement of both Greeks and Latins: "We define that the holy Apostolic See, and the Roman Pontiff hold primacy over the whole world, and the Roman Pontiff himself is the successor

of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the true vicar of Christ, and is the head of the whole Church, as well as the Father of all Christians, and is proven to be a teacher, for our Lord Jesus Christ handed full power to him in the person of St. Peter to feed, rule and govern the universal Church." I omit five other general Councils, because the Greeks do not receive them, since they were not present, nor do the Lutherans since they were celebrated after the year 500. 610

Chatpter XIV: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is proven from the Testimonies of the Supreme Pontiffs

We take up the third argument from the teachings of the Supreme Pontiffs t must be observed that the epistles of the Pontiffs can be distributed as though hey were in three classes.

The first class contains epistles of the Pontiffs, who sat to the year 300, in which the Centuriators and Calvin profess that truly the primacy is asserted and hese Popes were saints and true Pontiffs, but they say their epistles were contrived and recent, as well as falsely ascribed to those Pontiffs.

The second class embraces the epistles of those Popes, who sat from the year 600 even to our times, in which our adversaries confess that truly the primacy was asserted and they were the authors of these in which they are entitled, but those Pontiffs were not worthy in regard to faith, and were Pseudo-pontiffs, not true Pontiffs.

The third class takes up those epistles, in which the primacy is openly asserted, and which it is certain were written by saints and true Pontiffs, who flourished from the year 300 to the year 600, namely Julius I, Damasus Siricius, Innocent I, Sozomen, Leo the Great, Gelasius, Anastasius II, John II Felix IV, Pelagius II, and Gregory the Great. Therefore, in the testimonies of he first and second class, we will not devote attention to quotes, but it will be enough to mark the citations in parenthesis and respond to the objections of the heretics; whenever they affirm in those epistles that our opinion is clearly asserted. The quotes will only be conveyed in the testimonies of the third class.

First: these holy Pontiffs openly assert the Primacy: Clement (Epistle 1) Anacletus (Epist. 3) Evaristus (Epist. 1), Alexander (Epist. 1) Pius I (Epist. 1 and 2), Anicetis (Epist. 1), Victor (Epist. 1), Zephyrinus (Epist. 1), Calixtus (Epist. 2), Lucius (Epist. 1), Marcellus (Epist. 1), Eusebius (Epist. 3) Melchiades (Epist. 1), Marcus, (Epist. 1).

To these testimonies they make no response, except to say that they are recent and not genuine. But although I would not deny that some errors have crept into them, nor would I dare to affirm that they are indisputable, stil certainly I have no doubt whatsoever they are very ancient. Thus the Centuriators lie when they say that no worthy author before the times o

Charlemagne cited these epistles. 611 For Isidore, who is two hundred years older than Charlemagne, says that by the counsel of 80 bishops, he gathered the Canons from the epistles of Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, and the rest of the Roman Pontiffs. Likewise, the Council of Vasense, Can. 6, cites the letters of Clement just as they exist now and they are also cited by a Council celebrated in the time of Leo I, that is, 350 years before the empire of Charlemagne. Lastly Ruffinus, who preceded Charlemagne by four hundred years, in a Preface to the recognitions of Clement which he translated from Greek, recalls also the epistles of Clement to James, and says that he translated them out of Greek himself. Further, this version is truly of Ruffinus, as Gennadius witnesses. 612

In the Second class are the following Popes: Adrian I (epistle to Tharasius), Nicholas I (epistle to the Emperor Michael), Leo IX (epistle to Michael the Bishop of Constantinople), Paschal I (epistle to Bishop Panormitanus), Innocent III (Epistle to the Emperor of Constantinople). All of these avowedly and in earnest teach that the Roman Pontiff is over the whole Church.

Our adversaries respond to these by saying all these Pontiffs were Antichrists. Now that, we will refute in a later question. 613 Meanwhile, we say this alone, if these Pontiffs were Antichrists, the whole Church would have perished by nearly a thousand years; it is certain from the histories that the universal Church adhered to these Pontiffs, and followed their teaching. But if the Church perished, then Christ lied when he said in Matthew XVI that the gates of hell were not going to prevail against the Church. But on this we have said enough in the questions on the Church. Let us come to the third class, and we advance the twelve best and holiest Popes.

The first is St. Julius I, who in his epistle to the Oriental Bishops, 614 speaks thus: “Why are you ignorant of the fact that it is customary that first it should be written to us, that hence what is just can be defined? For which reason, if a crime of this kind had been conceived against a bishop, it ought to be referred to our Church. . . What we received from Blessed Peter the Apostle that I signify to you; and I should not have written this, as deeming that these things were manifest to everyone, had not these proceedings so disturbed us.”

In these words St. Julius affirms that the duty of judging the cases of bishops pertains to him, even in the East, although they are primary Patriarchs (for he treats on the case of St. Athanasius the Patriarch of Alexandria) and this right he received from St. Peter, which is known to everyone. What response,

ısk, can be made? The author is a saint, and very ancient; the epistle certair ınd the whole written down by St. Athanasius; and at length his words are clear ınd eloquent.

The second is St. Damasus, who, in a letter to all the Eastern Bishops vhich Theodoret relates, 615 says: “Because your charity distributed the 'everence due to the Apostolic seat, you most beloved sons excel, as many o: /ou as there are.” There, he recognized that due reverence and calls all the ɔishops sons. Likewise in Epistle 4 to the Bishops of Numidia: “Do not cease o bring all those things which can receive some doubt to us, just as to the head ıs has always been the custom.”

The third witness is St. Syricius, in an epistle to Himericus, the Bishop o: Tarragona, which Calvin also confesses is truly of Syricius: “For consideration of our duty, it is not for us to feign, nor to take the liberty to be silent, in which ı zeal greater than all of the Christian religion depends upon. We bear the ɔurdens of all who are weighed down. Indeed St. Peter carries these things ımong us, who protects and guards us as his heirs in all things, as we trust in ıis administration.” And below that in Chapter 15: “We have explained, as I ɔelieve, beloved brother, all those things which have been scattered into strife ınd to individual origins, on which through our son Bassianus, a priest of the Roman Church, in as much as he has reported to the head concerning your ɔody, etc.” Next he commands the bishop, that he would direct these, his lecrees, to all other bishops.

The fourth is St. Zosimus, in an epistle to Hesychius the Bishop of Solons ‘We have chiefly directed these writings to you so that you will see to it tha: ıotice is given to all the brethren, our bishops . . . Let each one know this, tha aying aside the authority of the Fathers and of the Apostolic See, he will have lisregarded that which we have defended in earnest; if he thinks he can attempt his after so many prohibitions, he should scarcely doubt that it is inconsisten n his regard with the rule of his see.”

The fifth is St. Innocent I, in his epistle to the Bishops of Macedonia ‘Turn to the Apostolic seat, the relation to which, just as to the head of Church hey did run, being sent, when injury was done, etc.” 616 Likewise, in ar ɛpistle to the Council of Miletus, which is among the epistles of St. Augustine ıe says: “Diligently and agreeably consult the Apostolic honor. To the honor o: hat which is apart from those, which are on the outside, care remains of all the Churches: they followed the ancient form of the rule, which you know is ılways kept throughout the world.” Likewise, in an epistle to the Council o:

Carthage, which is 91, he says the Roman see is the *fount and head of al Churches*.

To this the Centuriators make no response, except that Innocent arrogates too much for himself. For which reason, they contumaciously call him Nocentius. 617 But if that is so, why do the Fathers not condemn this error o Innocent? What does Augustine say about these two letters of Innocent: "He wrote on all things to us in the same manner, in which it was lawful, and also fitting for a bishop of the Apostolic see."? 618 Why does Augustine appeal to he "blessed memory" of Innocent in the same place?

Sixth is St. Leo. Because Luther and Calvin say the ancient Pontiffs had no authority outside of the West, we bring to bear the testimonies of Leo, in which he primacy is asserted, and shown that the Pontiff exercised jurisdiction in tha ime in Greece, Asia, Egypt and Africa. Therefore, in Epistle 84 to Anastasius he Bishop of Thessalonika, he says: "That you too, just like your predecessors should receive from us in our turn authority, we give our consent and earnestly exhort that no concealment and no negligence may be allowed in the management of the churches situated throughout Illyria, which we commit to you in our stead, following the precedent of Siricius, of blessed remembrance who then, for the first time, acting on a certain method, entrusted them to your ast predecessor but one, Anysius of holy memory, who had at the time well deserved of the Apostolic See, that he might render assistance to the churches situated in that province which he wished kept up to discipline. . . We have so trusted your charity in our stead, that you should be called into part of the care but not in the fullness of power." At the end, where he had said that bishops archbishops and primates were constituted with great providence, he adds "Through which care of the universal Church flows to the one See of Peter, and should never be separated from the head." From this, not only the Primacy, but even the authority of Leo appears in the Churches of Greece.

The same Leo, in his letter to Anatholus, the Bishop of Constantinople "To you resident, in whom the execution of our disposition we enjoin, etc." 619 You see, that he commanded the Patriarch of Constantinople. He also says, in Letter 62 to Maximus, the Patriarch of Antioch, advising him, the latter frequently writes to him about what should be done concerning the Churches Leo writes in the same place: "Juvenal, the bishop believed it could suffice for him to obtain rule of the province of Palestine. Cryil, of holy memory, rightly trembling at the fact, demanded much careful prayer, that no approbation should be offered to illicit attempts, etc." You see how the Patriarch o

Alexandria begged Leo, lest he would permit Palestine to be subject to Juvenal? And when this province looked to the Patriarchate of Antioch, why did Cyril not rather seek the aid of the Patriarch of Antioch than Leo?

Leo further writes to Dioscorus, the Patriarch of Alexandria: "What we know our fathers preserved with greater care, we wish you also to safeguard etc." Here we see Leo commands the Patriarch of the whole of Egypt and Lybia. Again, in Epistle 87 to the Bishops of Africa: "What we suffer, no matter how venial, cannot remain altogether unpunished, if anyone should presume to usurp that which we forbid. . . there we command the case of Bishop Lupicinus to be heard." Therefore, Leo commanded the Bishops of Greece, Asia, Egypt, and Africa. There are also extant letters to the Bishops of Germany, France, Spain and Italy, in which he clearly understands that he is their Judge and Head.

Lastly, in his first sermon he addresses the city of Rome thus: "By the holy Seat of Blessed Peter, Head of the World, you were set up to preside over divine religion more extensively than earthly dominion. Although increased by many victories, the right of your empire you brought by earth and sea, still, has bellicose labor not supplied less to you than what Christian peace has subjected?" [620] What could be more clear?

Calvin responds to all these citations in two ways. [621] Firstly, he says that Leo was greedy beyond limit for glory and domination, and that many resisted his ambition. He cites proof of it in the margin of his Epistle 85.

But in that epistle, no such thing exists, nor do we discover in any of his epistles any who resisted St. Leo, with the exception of one French Bishop named Hilary. This is only read in Epistle 89 of Pope Leo, that this bishop wished to withdraw from obedience to the Apostolic Seat; nevertheless, we read in the same place that he came to Rome to make his case, and was convicted in a Council, and punished.

On the other hand, among the Epistles of Leo are extant Epistles to him from different Councils, bishops and emperors, and specifically the epistles of the Bishops of France, in which his piety and authority are wonderfully praised. I do not believe that there was anyone before Luther and Calvin who condemned St. Leo for pride and ambition.

Calvin responds in the second place: "Leo did not usurp the jurisdiction over other bishops, but as much as he interposed himself to settle their quarrels so also the law and nature of Ecclesiastical Communion suffered." He attempts to prove this from the same epistle of Leo (84), where it seems as though he

commands bishops, in fact Leo says that he would have it that all the privileges of Metropolitans were preserved, as though he were to say that he advises from piety, to relinquish authority to those whom it belongs.

But if that is so, therefore, he was not more greedy of glory and domination, nor was he accused of ambition. Thereupon, the very words of Leo cited above teach clearly enough that he truly and clearly commanded bishops with authority.

Moreover, the fact that he wishes that the laws of the Metropolitans be preserved does nothing to impede our case, for he wished them to be so preserved, that at the same time they might be subject to the Apostolic Seat and its Vicar. He says as much in the same Epistle: "Therefore, according to the canons of the holy Fathers fashioned in the spirit of God, and consecrated in reverence of the whole world, Metropolitan Bishops of individual provinces, in which our care of your fraternity is extended by delegation, the right or antiquity of the dignity handed down for it, we discern to hold undefiled, so that by predetermined rules they might withdraw neither by negligence, nor by presumption. . . If by chance, among those who are in charge of greater parts something would be missing, the case might be born in sins, which cannot be defined by a provincial test, your fraternity on the quality of the whole business the Metropolitan will take care to instruct, and if in the presence of equal parties, the matter will not have been insensible in your judgment, to our understanding, whatever it is that shall be transferred."

The seventh is St. Gelasius. He says in an epistle: "All the Churches throughout the world know that it is bound by the teachings of every Pontiff for the See of Blessed Peter the Apostle should have the right of resolving; in as much as he should have the sacred right to judge those matters in regard to every Church, nor is it lawful for anyone to judge his judgment." 622 Nor can any response be given for these, it is certain that these are truly the words of Gelasius, and Gelasius was a holy man, who was in charge of the Church a thousand years ago.

The eighth is John II, who also sat a thousand years ago, who writes 'Among the clear praises of your wisdom and custom, O most Christian of Princes, by a purer light, just as some star would twinkle, that is, by love of faith, because being learned by zeal for charity, you preserve the reverence for the disciplines of the Roman Seat, and being subject to it in regard to everything, being lead to its unity, to its authority, this is the first of the Apostles, commanded while the Lord was speaking: 'Feed my sheep,' which is

ruly the head of the Churches, and the rules of the fathers, and clearly established of Princes, etc." 623

The ninth is Anastasius II, who wrote to the Emperor: "Through the ministry of my humility, just as the seat of Blessed Peter is always in the universal Church, its rule should be held by yourself as designated by the Lord." 624

The tenth is Felix IV, who wrote: "I joyfully received the writings of your sanctity, which you sent to the Apostolic Seat just as to the head, that from here you would receive a response, whence every Church of the whole religion takes its beginning." 625

The eleventh is Pelagius II, who in an Epistle to Eastern Bishops, writes 'The Roman See, by the Lord's institution, is the head of every Church."

The twelfth is St. Gregory the Great, who, no less than Leo, knew he was the Head of the whole Church. He writes in an Epistle: "From the Council of Numidia, if anyone will have longed to come to the Apostolic seat, permit him and if some of them should wish to gainsay their ways, meet them." 626 From here it is clear what the authority of Gregory was in Africa. Likewise, he says in another epistle: "After the writings were directed to your beatitude, for the sake of my retirement in the cause of Honoratus the Archdeacon, that Honoratus uttered a condemned opinion on every side for his own degree is private. But if someone from the four Patriarchs would see to it, without grave scandal, that such a contumely should in no way transpire into contumacy.' Certainly in these words St. Gregory was put in charge of all the Patriarchs, he very obviously teaches. 627

Likewise he writes: "Know that We transferred the pallium of our brother John, the Bishop of Corinth, to one that it is exceedingly fitting for you to obey." You see the authority of Gregory among the Greek Bishops, whereby he ordains the Bishop and Archbishop of Corinth by the transmission of the pallium? He also writes: "For concerning the Church of Constantinople, who doubts it is subject to the Apostolic seat? Or the fact that the Lord is the most pious emperor, which our brother Eusebius, bishop of the same city assiduously professes." 628 And in Epistle 64, to the same Archbishop: "For because he says he is subject to the Apostolic seat, if some fault is discovered among the bishops, I do not know which bishop might be subject to him.' What is clearer? I omit the letters to the Bishops of Italy, France, and Spain, for here is no doubt concerning their subjection.

Calvin responds, and says first: “Gregory granted to himself the right o correcting others, however, they did not obey him unless they wished.” 629 Bu his cannot be said, for Gregory was very holy and exceedingly humble, fo which reason even the Greeks commemorate his feast day; and Calvin likewis professes that Gregory was a holy man, 630 but usurpation of someone else’ right is inconsistent with sanctity. Nor is it a venial blemish or stain, to mak subject all bishops to himself, but, as they frequently teach, intolerable pride and the very mark of Antichrist; how therefore, was Gregory a saint, if h subjected all bishops to him unjustly?

Secondly Calvin responds: “Gregory judged the Bishop of Constantinopl by a command of the Emperor, as is clear from bk 7, epistle 64 of the sam Gregory.” But in that epistle Gregory says the Emperor wished that patriarc judged by him because the Canons of Gregory himself require this. It is th same as if he were to say, the Emperor refused to impede since according to th canons a bishop, though he be of a royal city, was to be punished by Gregory This is the reason why in the previous epistle Gregory says the Empero assiduously professes, that the Church of Constantinople was subject to th Roman Church.

Thirdly Calvin responds: “He punished Gregory just as others, he was s prepared to be corrected by others, as he says himself, 631 and hence was no more over them than subject to them.” But Gregory, in that epistle, speaks o fraternal correction, not on a judicial censure, as he says: “Behold, you fraternity stands so sickly from banquets which I have condemned, since I, wh although I do not transgress this by life but by place, corrupted by all things, am prepared to be corrected by all, and only I reckon this man is my friend b whose tongue before the apparition of a busy judge I wipe away the stains o my mind.” Add that Calvin envelops the argument in contradiction, in asserting that at one and the same time the man is a Prelate for all, and nevertheless subject to some.

He responds in the fourth place: “This state of the Pontiffs exceedingly displeases Gregory: hence he bewails,” Calvin says, “and under the heat of th episcopate he would return to the world, as he says in an epistle.” 632 But wha Calvin misses here is that Gregory was given to exhaustion since he was brought from the quiet of the monastery to the Episcopal burdens: moreover, h was not displeased that the Apostolic Seat managed the care of every Church For he opposed bitterly the same thing for the honor of his Seat against Joh he Bishop of Constantinople. He also says to Eulogius: “We shall maintai

humility in mind, and nevertheless preserve our dignity in honor." 633 And in another epistle to John the Bishop of Panormus, he says: "We advise that the reverence due to the Apostolic seat be disturbed by the presumption of no one. Thus, the state of the members remains whole, if no injury besets the head of faith." 634 And in his explanation of the Psalms he says: "In such a man he extends the rashness of his frenzy, that he will claim for himself the head of all Churches, the Roman Church, and usurp for himself the right of power as Mistress of the Nations." 635

Chapter XV: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is Proved from the Greek Fathers

Let us come to the testimonies of the Fathers who were not Supreme Pontiffs. Calvin and Illyricus make only three objections to us; Cyprian, Jerome and Bernard, about whom we will speak in their place. For the moment, we will object to them from nearly thirty three.

Therefore, the first should be St. Ignatius, who records in his epistle to the Romans: "Ignatius, to the holy Church, which presides in the region of the Romans." Why is the Church said to be presiding, except because it is the Head of all others?

The second is St. Irenaeus: "The Church of Rome, of the greatest antiquity and recognized by all, founded and constituted by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, that which has tradition from the Apostles, and heralding the faith to all through successions of bishops attaining even to us we confound those men, who reveal that they gather it [the tradition] contrary to what is fitting by any manner or through their wicked charm, or vain glory or through blindness and wicked knowledge. It is necessary for every Church to agree with this Church, on account of a mightier principality, 636 this is, those who are faithful on every side, in which always, by these who are on every side his has been preserved, which is the Tradition from the Apostles." 637 Mark hat phrase *It is necessary*, and that *For every Church to agree*. And also: *On account of a mightier preeminence*, as well as: *in which the Apostolic Tradition has always been preserved for all.*

For Irenaeus proves, that he can confound all heretics from the doctrine of he Roman Church, because it is necessary for every Church to agree with this Church, and by it, just as by a head and fount, the Church depends; and hence it s necessary that its doctrine is Apostolic and true. He proves the fact that all Christians necessarily depend upon the Roman Church.

In the first place, *a priori*, because rule was given to this Church.

In the second place, *a posteriori*, because insofar as all always preserve the Faith in this Church, that is, in union and adhesion to this Church, as to a Head and mother.

The third witness is Epiphanius: “Ursacius and Valens doing penance ogether with little books professed to St. Julius, the Bishop of Rome, so as tc ɔe restored from their error and crime.” 638 Certainly they were bishops herefore, why did they seek forgiveness from the Roman Pontiff, if the Romar ?ontiff were not also the judge and Head of bishops?

The Fourth is Athanasius. In his Second Apology, he witnesses certair ɔishops sought forgiveness for their crime from St. Julius I. And in his epistle o Pope Felix he says: “On account of that you, and your predecessors, clearly ?rotectors [*Praesules*], He [God] constituted in the capitol of the highest poin ınd commanded to have care over every Church, that you should come to our ıid.” 639 Lastly, in his book on the Sentences of Dionysius of Alexandria, he ;ays: “Certain men from the Church thinking rightly, but ignorant of the case That is why since it stood thus, it was written by him that they should go up tc Rome, and there they accused Dionysius before the Prelate at Rome.”

Why, I ask, is Dionysius the Patriarch of Alexandria accused by good mer n the presence of the Roman Pontiff, except because they knew the Romar ?ontiff is the common judge of all?

The fifth is Basil the Great. In an epistle he says: “It appeared agreeable tc ʌrite to the Bishop of Rome, that he might look to our affairs, and impose a lecree of his judgment. As that is difficult, some thence asked for a sentence o: he Council to be sent; these gave authority of the affair to wicked men, tha hey could not bear the labor of the journey, by a leniency and facility o: norals. Then by a prudent and agreeable prayer they, who had returned by the ight way, advised that every act of the Council of Armenia they should bear ʌith them to get them rescinded, which were carried out with violence in tha ɔlace.” Basil attributes to the Bishop of Rome authority of visiting the Eastern Churches, and from that authority of making and rescinding the genera Conciliar decrees which were at Arminia.

The sixth is St. Gregory Nazianzen, 640 who says that the Roman Church ılways preserved the true teaching from God, as is fitting for the city which ɔresides over the whole world. Nor is he speaking on the temporal empire, for n that time the capital of the Roman Empire was at Constantinople, not Rome.

The seventh is St. John Chrysostom, who says in Epistle 1 to Pope :nnocent: “I ask that you would write the fact that these things were done sc ʌickedly that they have no strength, moreover that those who behaved sc ʌickedly ought to be subjected to the penalty of Ecclesiastical laws.’ Theophilus the Bishop of Alexandria had deposed Chrysostom from the

Episcopate of Constantinople in a Council of many bishops: Chrysostom wrote to the Roman Pontiff, that he would discern with his authority, that the judgment of Theophilus was void, and punish Theophilus himself. Therefore Chrysostom acknowledged Pope Innocent as a the supreme judge even of the Greeks. Likewise, in his 2nd epistle to the same: "We thank you in perpetuity because you have declared your paternal benevolence to us, etc."

Chrysostom acknowledged Innocent as a father, nevertheless he was older than Innocent, and the bishop of a royal city. Lastly, in the same epistle, he begs from Innocent, lest he would excommunicate his enemies, even though they deserved it: "I pray your vigilance, that although they have filled everything with tumults, still if they may wish to be cured from the malady, lest they be afflicted, or cast from the body."

The eighth is St. Cyril of Alexandria. In his tenth epistle to Nestorius, and his eleventh to the Clergy and people of Constantinople, he writes that Nestorius, unless he would recall his heresies within a set time, ought to be shunned by all as one excommunicated and deposed. And in Epistle 18 to Celestine, whom he calls "Most Holy Father" at the beginning, he asks from him whether he would have it that Nestorius was still communicated with at that time, or whether he was to be shunned by all. All of which sufficiently shows in what place St. Cyril held the Roman Pontiff, since in the condemnation and deposition of Nestorius, he showed that he was nothing other than the executer and administrator of the Roman Pontiff. Also in the book, *Thesauri*, he says: "Every head bows to Peter by divine law, and the primates of the world obey him just as they obey the Lord Jesus." Likewise "We ought, as we who are members, adhere to our head, the Roman Pontiff and the Apostolic seat."

Such words are not contained in the books *Thesauri* which are now extant but they are cited by St. Thomas, 641 and by Gennadius Cholarius, a Greek author, in a book on the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Moreover, it is certain that many books from the work, *Thesauri*, have perished, for the same phrase is cited in the Sixth Council, Act 10, bk 32. Only fourteen books of the *Libr Thesauri* of Cyril are extent today. Besides, Andreas, the Bishop of Colossensis, affirmed at the Council of Florence, 642 that in the *Thesauri* of Cyril the authority of the Roman Pontiff was wonderfully preached, and no one of the Greeks contradicted him.

The ninth is Theodoret, who in an epistle to Pope Leo says: "I await the judgment of your Apostolic seat, and I beg and entreat your holiness that you

would impose the might of your just and right judgment to my appeal, and tha t might bid you to hasten and show that my doctrine follows in the Apostolic footsteps." 643 Yet here was an Asian Bishop who was in charge of 80(churches, as he says in the same place, nevertheless he acknowledges the Roman Pontiff as his supreme judge. He also says in a letter to Renatus, a Roman priest: "They have despoiled me of priesthood and thrown me from the cities; neither is age considered in religion nor reverence for grey hairs. This is why I beg you, that you might persuade the most holy Archbishop Leo, that he would use his Apostolic authority, and that he might bid me to approach your Council. That holy seat holds the reigns of government over every church o the world." 644

The tenth is Sozomen in his History. He says: "Since on account of the dignity of his own seat regards the care of all the faithful as his own, he restored each to their church." 645 He speaks concerning Julius I, who restored Athanasius to his Episcopate in Alexandria, and Paul to Constantinople.

The eleventh is Acatius, who says, in an epistle to Pope Simplicius, which is contained in a volume of the Second Council: "Carrying about the solicitude of all Churches, according to the Apostle, you exhort us without ceasing although watchful and anticipating of our own accord."

The twelfth. Concerning the Bishop of Paterna, Liberatus thus writes in his Breviary: "When Sylverius came to Patara the venerable bishop of that city came to the Emperor, and called to witness the judgment of God concerning the expulsion of a bishop of such a See, saying, 'there are many kings in this world, and there is not one, just as that Pope is over the Church of the whole world, being expelled form his see.'" 646

The thirteenth is Justinian Augustus, the Elder, in a letter to John II, which is contained in the *Codex*, in the first title: "We will not suffer anything which pertains to the state of the Churches that is not also made known to your holiness, who is head of all the Churches of the world."

Chapter XVI: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is Proven from the Latin Fathers

Now from the Latins. St. Cyprian often teaches this [that the Roman Pontiff succeeds Peter]. But before we bring the proper citations to bear, the argument of his books on the *Unity of the Church* must be explained; from here his other testimonies shall be more easily understood. Therefore, in his book on the *Unity of the Church*, he proposes to show in what the unity of the Church consists, and he shows first from where division and heresy arise. "It happens in this way, that one does not return to the font of truth, nor seek the Head, nor preserve the doctrine of the heavenly master."

There he proposes three things. Firstly, the font of truth is from the Church that is, from the Church whereby doctrine will have begun. Secondly, the Head of the Church is different from Christ: for a little before, he had said that all heretics seek Christ, and nevertheless here he says that all heresies are born because they do not seek the Head of the Church. Thirdly, the doctrine of the heavenly Master, is what the doctrine of Christ might be from the Church and its Head.

After these were proposed, he soon declares these three matters, saying 'The Lord speaks to Peter: 'I say to you, that you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not conquer it;' 'Feed my sheep, etc.'" In that place, Cyprian teaches that the font of truth is from the Church, which he had said must be sought in these words of the Lord Therefore, this doctrine begins from the Church: and similarly, the head of the Church, which he had said must be sought is Peter, and the doctrine of the heavenly Master are these same words. This is why, a little after, he adds and teaches, that the Church is one in its root and head, although it is multiplied in propagation, and he places three examples, one of a light, of a font, and a tree All these are one in root, and yet are multiplied in propagation. Therefore, we have from this place, that Peter is the Head of the whole Church.

Moreover, this same thing is fitting for the Bishop of Rome; Cyprian declares the same thing in a letter to Pope Cornelius, where, speaking on the schism of the Novatianists, who did not recognize Cornelius as Pope, he speaks thus: "Heresies do not arise from any other source, nor are schisms born, than

n that because they do not obey the Priest of God, or one priest in the Church at a time, or it is not thought that there is one judge in the stead of Christ at a time. To which if all fraternity would comply according to the divine magisterium, no man from the college of priests would ever oppose anything etc." 647

Now our adversaries respond: "Here Cyprian speaks on individual bishops and particular Churches, and wishes to say, in each Church there ought to be one Judge and Priest at a time." But if this citation were matched against the previous one, it is obvious that Cyprian is speaking on the universal Church. For, just as in the first place he had said that heresies are born because the head is not sought, and he explained that the Head of the whole Church is Peter, so here he says heresies are born because it is not thought that there is one judge in the stead of Christ in the Church, which without a doubt is Cornelius, for he is speaking about him. For that reason, a little below in the same epistle, he calls the Roman Church the See of Peter and the Principle Church, whence sacerdotal unity arises.

He also says in another letter to the same Cornelius: "We had recently sent our colleagues, that they might gather together the members of the torn body to the unity of the Catholic Church, but the obstinacy of different parties, and the unbendable pertinacity not only refused the lap and embrace of the root and mother, but even made an adulterous and contrary head outside the Church etc." 648 Clearly this discourse is on the Catholic Church, of which the Novatianists are outside. But Cyprian says that the Novationists not only refused to return to the Church, and acknowledge the root and mother, or the Head of this Church; but even set up for themselves an adulterous and contrary Head. Therefore, just as Novatian was the head of all Novatianists, so Cornelius was the Head of all Catholics.

Cyprian also teaches: "There is one God, and one Christ, and one Church and one Chair founded upon Peter by the voice of the Lord. One cannot set up another altar, or to make a new priesthood, apart from the one altar and one priesthood. Whoever does so gathers elsewhere, and therefore, scatters." 649

Here, rightly, just as God is one and Christ is one, and the Church is one in number, not in species: so also the Chair is one in number, that is, there is a certain individual Chair, which teaches the whole Church, and that is of Peter outside of which whoever gathers, scatters. Next, in another epistle, 650 he again calls the Roman Church the root and mother of the Catholic Church.

But our adversaries object. First, they bring up Cyprian's book on the Unity of the Church, where he so speaks: "The Episcopate is one, part of which is held in solidity by individuals." Therefore, they say, there is not one bishop of the whole Church. Secondly, they object on the basis of Cyprian's epistle to Quintus, where Cyprian, while residing in Council, says: "No one constituted our bishop that he should be of bishops, or compel his colleagues by a tyrannical terror to the necessity of obedience, when every bishop has the right of liberty and his power of his proper judgments, just as he can be judged by no other, since he cannot judge the other. But we await the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who one and alone has the power of putting us in charge of the governance of his Church and judging it from our act."

I respond to the first: The Episcopate is one in that manner in which the Church is one. Furthermore, the Church is one in that manner, in which many branches of a tree are one tree, many rivers one water, and many rays one light and in the same place Cyprian says, just as in the branches, rivers and rays there is unity by reason of the one head, that is of the root, source and the sun even though the branches, rivers and rays are multiplied: so also the Church is one, and the Episcopate one in the root and Head, although there are many particular Churches, and many particular Episcopates. Therefore, part of one great Episcopate is held by individual bishops in solidity, but not equally, nor in the same way. For Peter and his successors hold that part which is just as the head, and the root and the source: the rest hold the other parts which are like the branches and rivers.

This one Episcopate is (as we said) similar to a heterogeneous body, not a homogenous body, from which it follows that individual bishops do not hold part of this Episcopate in the same way. For just as the root, although it is a part, as the branch is also, nevertheless holds up and rules the branches, and everything which is in the branches, they are virtually in the root, not the other way around: so also, although the Roman Church and the Roman Episcopate are part of the universal Church, and the universal Episcopate, just like the Church at Tusculum [651] has its Episcopate, nevertheless the Roman Church rules Tusculum, not the other way around.

Therefore, from the teaching of Cyprian it is rightly gathered, that the Roman Pope is not only the bishop of all Churches, as there are indeed other true bishops who received their part of the universal Church to rule nevertheless it is not rightly gathered, that the Roman Pontiff is not the Head and Pastor of all bishops, and hence also of the universal Church; seeing that

he part which has been consigned to them to rule has that place in the Church which has the root in the tree, the head in the body and the font in rivers or waters.

Now to the second objection I say: When Cyprian says: “No one makes himself a bishop of bishops,” he speaks on those who were present at that Council in Carthage, he does not include the Roman Pontiff in that teaching who truly is the Bishop of Bishops, and Father of Fathers, as we will show below when we treat on the titles of the Roman Pontiff.

Now to that which he says, that a bishop cannot be judged except by God just as he is constituted by God alone, I say: it ought to be understood in dubious and secret matters; thus St. Augustine expresses it when recalling these very words of Cyprian, “I think in these questions which have not yet been discussed with very refined examination, etc.” 652

In that place he teaches that Cyprian would have it mean that individual bishops in a Council, while a matter is discussed, can freely state their opinion nor ought they be compelled tyrannically by the President of the Council to his opinion, before a question may have been defined. For otherwise how could a Pope judge and depose heretical bishops, or manifest schismatics, as is clear from Cyprian’s letter to Pope Stephen, 653 where Cyprian exhorts him, that he should command the Bishop of Arles to be deposed, and constitute another in his place.

The second from the Latin Fathers is Optatus of Miletus. He follows Cyprian’s opinion on the singular chair of the whole Church in his work *Contra Parmen.*, where he says there are five dowries of the Catholic Church, and the first is the unique and singular Chair of Peter, in which unity ought to be preserved by all: but he showed that singular Chair is not only Peter’s but also his successors’ when he enumerated the Roman Pontiffs even to Siricius. And at length he concludes: “Therefore, on the aforesaid dowries, that Chair is first which we proved is ours through Peter.”

The third is St. Ambrose, who says in his commentary on the first Epistle to Timothy: “When the whole world should be of God, nevertheless his house is called the Church, whose Ruler today is Damasus.” 654

He teaches likewise in his Oration on Satyrus: “Percunctatus is a Bishop, if he should agree with Catholic bishops, that is, if he should agree with the Roman Church.”

Why, I ask, are they not Catholic bishops unless they agree with the Roman Church, except that the Roman Church is the head of the Catholic

Church? Ambrose says the same thing elsewhere: “Are we not ignorant that the Church does not have some custom, whose type and form we follow in all things?. . . In all things, I desire to follow the Roman Church, but still even we men have the sense; therefore, what is rightly preserved elsewhere, we also rightly safeguard.” 655

In that place it must be observed, when Ambrose says that in all things he would follow the Roman Church, and still that he refuses to follow the custom of not washing the feet of the recently baptized: that *all things* must be understood on all necessary matters, and pertaining to salvation, otherwise he would be opposed to himself.

The fourth is St. Jerome. He says in an epistle to Agemchiam on Monogamia: “A great many years ago, when I assisted Damasus, the bishop of the city of Rome, in ecclesiastical records and in synodal consultations of the East and West, I responded, etc.” You see how from the whole Church, and the whole world responses were then sought from the Apostolic See? Jerome says in an epistle to Damasus on the term hypostasis: “Although your magnitude terrifies me, nevertheless your humanity invites, I, a sheep, to ask aid from the shepherd. I speak with the successor of the fisherman and disciple of the cross . , following none first but Christ, unite myself with your beatitude, that is in the communion of the Chair of Peter. I know that the Church was built upon that rock. Whoever will eat the lamb outside this house, is profane. Whoever was not in the Ark of Noah, perished while the flood reigned.” And below [speaking of schismatics]: “I do not know Vitalis, I spurn Meletius, and I ignore Paulinus. Whoever does not gather with you, scatters: this is, who is not of Christ, is of Antichrist.”

Observe firstly that Jerome, who was an Antiochene priest, nevertheless acknowledges himself as a sheep of the Bishop of Rome.

Secondly, Jerome confesses Damasus to be the successor of Peter.

Thirdly, when he says: “I, following none first but Christ, unite myself to your beatitude” he says that he would have it that he adhere first to Christ, then the Vicar of Christ. Therefore, it is the same thing as if he would have said: “I put no man before you, O Pope Damasus, except Christ himself.”

Fourthly, the seat of the Roman Pontiff is made by Jerome the foundation of his [God’s] house and boat, which is the universal Church, and hence the Roman Pontiff is made the Head of the whole Church.

Lastly, Jerome prefers more to adhere to the Seat of the Roman Pontiff than to his own Bishop Paulinus, who was not one from a crowd, but the

Patriarch of Antioch. Thus he says: “I do not know Vitalis, I spurn Meletius, I ignore Paulinus.”

For this reason, even Erasmus himself, who otherwise is usually more hostile to the Roman Church, says in an Annotation on this citation, that it seems to him that Jerome asserts by these words, that all Churches are subject to the Apostolic See. This ought to be noted against the new heretics, who hold Erasmus for an oracle.

But Calvin objects to all this. Firstly, he brings the Epistle of Jerome to Nepotianus, wherein Jerome, while reviewing the examples of unity, says ‘‘Each bishop of the Churches, each Archpriest, each Archdeacon, and every Ecclesiastical order depends upon its Rulers.’ Nor does he add,” Calvin says ‘that all the Churches are tied together among themselves, just as by a bond, to one Head.”

Secondly not only Calvin objects, but also Illyricus and Melanchthon, and others, that in his epistle to Evagrius, Jerome says: “If authority is sought, the world is greater than a city. Why do you bring to me the custom of one city? Why do you defend the paucity, from which arrogance arose, against the laws of the Church? Wherever was there a bishop, whether at Rome, or Eugubius, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanis, who is of the same merit and of the same priesthood; the power of riches and the humility of poverty does not make one a more lofty or lowly bishop.”

Now I say to the first: Jerome did not omit one Head, for when he says ‘And every Ecclesiastical order depends upon its Rulers,” he indicates apart from one bishop, archpriest and archdeacon, that there are still other unities without a doubt in each province one Metropolitan; in greater particular regions one Primate; in the whole Church one Pontiff: otherwise, it will not be true that in every Ecclesiastical order there is one Ruler.

I say to the second: Jerome in that citation rebukes a certain wicked custom which was at Rome, but not in the whole Roman Church, or in the Supreme Pontiff, but only among the Roman deacons. Because there were few deacons and they had care of the Ecclesiastical Treasures, little by little they began to put themselves before the priests, and to sit among them, since it was an ancient custom that while the priests and bishops were sitting, the deacons would stand not sit. Therefore, he says concerning these: “Why do you bring me the custom of one city? Why paucity, from which arrogance arises?”

Moreover, the Roman Pontiff did not approve of this custom, as Jerome shows in the same place; therefore, he says that only while the bishop was

absent did a deacon dare to sit among the priests. But that, which Jerome says ‘bishops are of the same merit and priesthood,” is true, yet it ought to be understood by reason of the Episcopal rank, not jurisdiction. For Jerome did not wish to deny a greater authority of the Bishop of Alexandria than Tanis since it is certain that the former was in charge of three vast provinces, while he latter was but a tiny city.

The fifth from the Latin Fathers is St. Augustine. In Epistle 162 he says ‘In the Roman Church the rule of the Apostolic Chair always flourishes.’ Likewise, in Epistle 92 to Pope Innocent: “Because the Lord has placed you for his sake in that unique office, in the Apostolic seat, and he furnished such for our times, that it should avail rather more a fault of our negligence, if with your veneration, which must be furnished for the Church, we were silent, than that you could disdainfully or negligently receive, in great danger to the weaker members of Christ, we ask that you would deign to apply pastoral diligence.”

In such words Augustine asks, along with the whole Council of Milevitanus, that Innocent would apply his pastoral care to the Church, by coercing the Pelagians who particularly infested Palestine and Africa. But certainly he would not ask, unless he also believed that Innocent was the pastor of Palestine and Africa. Next, why did Augustine not write to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, or the Metropolitan of Palestine, or rather more to the first bishop of the Church of Africa, namely Carthage, than to the Roman Pontiff, unless it is because he knew that the authority of the Roman Pontiff was greater in Palestine and Africa than that of their own bishops?

Likewise he says: “They came to me while present at Caesaraea, in which Ecclesiastical necessity had derived for us what was enjoined upon up by the venerable Pope Zozimus, the Bishop of the Apostolic Seat.” 656 Without a doubt, Zozimus had commanded that the Bishops of Africa should celebrate a Council at Caesarea: and St. Augustine reckoned it must be obeyed, and necessarily Pope Zozimus must be obeyed. Likewise, he says to Pope Boniface ‘You did not disdain, who have the sense for higher things, although you should preside more loftily, because to be humble is to be a friend.” And below ‘It is common to all of us who exercise the office of the Episcopate, although you are preeminate in that as a lofty peak, the pastoral watchtower.” 657 You see here all bishops are held by Augustine to be subjected to the loftier peak of the Roman Pontiff.

The sixth is St. Prosper of Aquitaine, who says in the *Liber de Ingratis* ‘The seat of Peter at Rome, which was made head of the world for pastora

ıonor, holds by Religion whatever it did not possess by arms." And on the *Calling of the Nations* he says: "Rome, through the rule of priesthood was nade more resplendent by the citadel of religion than the throne of power." 658

The seventh is St. Victor of Utica, who calls the Roman Church the Head of all Churches. 659

The eighth is St. Vincent of Liren in his Commonitorium. "There certain epistles of St. Felix the Martyr, and of St. Julius, Bishops of the city of Rome were read to some. And that they should bear testimony not only as Head of the city, but even the sides in that judgment, St. Cyprian applied from the south and St. Ambrose from the north." You see, the Roman Pontiff is called the Head of the world.

The ninth is Cassiodorus, writing to Pope John: "You as scouts preside over the Christian people, you love all in the name of the Father." And below "On which account, it behooves us to safeguard some things, but you everything." 660 (For Cassiodorus was commanded to have care of the city of Rome by King Theodoric). And below: "That wonderful seat cleanses its own nhabitants in the whole world with affection, which, although it is furnished in general in the whole world, it is also recognized by you and allotted locally."

The tenth is St. Bede. He writes in his history of the English nation: "When he foremost(Gregory), managed the Pontificate of the whole world, and long ago turning to the faith of truth was prelate over the Churches, our nation which, to that point, had been held in the power of idols, he made the Church of Christ." 661

The eleventh is St. Anselm. He dedicates his book on the Incarnation to Pope Urban II with these words: "To the Lord and Father of the universal Church journeying on earth, brother Anselm, a sinner in life to the Supreme Pontiff, Urban, a Monk in habit, whether at the command or pleasure of God called bishop of the city of Canterbury, giving due subjection with humble servitude, and devoted prayers. Because Divine Providence chose your sanctity whose it is to guard Christian faith and life, he committed to rule his Church, it is more rightly related to no other, if something arises in the Church against the Catholic faith, that it should be corrected by its authority, by no other more securely, if something should be responded or shown against the error, that it should be examined by its prudence." 662

The twelfth is Hugh of St. Victor. He writes: "The Apostolic seat is given preference to every Church in the whole world." 663

The thirteenth is St. Bernard, whom also Calvin relates on his behalf, and calls him a saint. 664 Bernard says in his book *de Considerationis*: "Well, let us still seek more diligently who you might be, what you are in charge of, for how long you are a person in the Church of God. Who are you? A great priest, the supreme Pontiff, you the Prince of Bishops, you the heir of the Apostles, you are Abel in primacy, Noah in captainship, Abraham in the Patriarchate Melchisedech by rank, Aaron in dignity, Moses in authority, Samuel in judgment, Peter in power, Christ by anointing. You are, the one to whom the keys were handed, to whom the sheep were entrusted, indeed there are also other porters of heaven, and pastors of the flocks, but as glorious as you are, so much also are you more different and apart from the rest in the name you have inherited.

"The former have flocks assigned to them, individuals have their own, but to you all are entrusted, one over one body. You alone are not only shepherd of the sheep, but even of the shepherds. . . Therefore, according to your canons, of another care in part, you were called into the fullness of power. Power compels certain limits of the others; yours is extended on those, who received power over others. Couldn't you, if a reason existed, close heaven to a bishop, can not you alone depose him from the Episcopacy, and even hand him over to Satan? Your unshakeable privilege stands to you, as in the keys which were given, than in the entrusted sheep."

This man, this holy man, as Calvin witnesses, and without Calvin innumerable miracles witness: but true holiness cannot be without true faith therefore, St. Bernard believed with true faith, that the Roman Pontiff was Pastor over the universal Church.

Moreover, many of the things that Calvin objects to, such as the vices and abuses of the Roman Curia, the same Bernard wrote against in the *liber de Considerationis*, that from the whole world the greedy, ambitious and simoniacal run to Rome, since they wish to be taken in authority to Ecclesiastical honors. But this does not lack a solution, for St. Bernard expressly teaches, the bad morals of Prelates do not impede to the extent that they be lesser Prelates, and we are less held to obey them, since the Lord said in St. Matthew: "Do what they say, but do not do according to their works.' 665

Lastly, we bring the testimony of a Latin [Roman] Emperor, just as above we related the testimony of a Greek [Roman] Emperor. Valentinian says, in an epistle to Theodosius, which is extant among the preliminaries to the Council

of Chalcedon: “We ought to preserve the dignity of proper veneration to the Blessed Apostle Peter in our times, by far the most Blessed of the city of Rome to whom antiquity confers the rule of priesthood over all, let him have place and faculty concerning faith, and in judging priests.”

Similar things are contained in the epistles of Gallia Placidia, and Licinius Eudoxius Augustarum to the same Theodosius in the same place.

Chapter XVII: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is Proved from the Origin and Antiquity of the Primacy

Now to this point we have shown by divine law, the General Councils, the estimony of the Pontiffs and from a consensus of the Greek and Latin Fathers hat the Ecclesiastical rule of the Roman Pontiff was received from Christ; this ype of argument, which is called leading to the impossible, is what we now ttempt to show. For, if it is not, as we said, in any time, or by any author tha he Ecclesiastical rule of the Roman Pontiff began: but no time is assigned, nc uthor can be noted, for in this we have shown this primacy was more ancient xcept that it comes about that Christ is the author and in the times of Christ herefore, it is necessary that we should arrive in that.

Our Adversaries respond, that they can assign a time and an author. Thus ohn de Turrecremata places four opinions of the heretics. 666

First, are those who say, that the authority of the Roman Pontiff is from the Apostles.

The second is the opinion of those who assert that it is from a genera Council; which is the opinion the aforementioned Nilus follows.

The third opinion is of those who reckon it is granted by Cardinal electors which is also similar to what the book of the Smalkaldic council teaches on the Primacy. Therein it tries to show that the Pope is not over the Church by divine aw, because the Church elects the Pope.

The fourth opinion is of those who teach that this authority was introduced by the Emperors, which is embraced by many heretics. Therefore, we shal briefly strike each one individually.

Now the first opinion has three testimonies on its behalf. One is o Anacletus, who says: “The rest of the Apostles with him (Peter) received ar equal share of honor and power, and they wished him to be their prince.” 667

The second testimony is of Julius I, where, speaking on the Apostles, he says: “The Holy Roman Church would have primacy over all the Churches.’ 668 The third is from the Canon *I Louis*, dist. 63, where the Roman Pontiff is called the Vicar of St. Peter. From which it would seem to follow, that no Christ, but Peter bestowed authority upon the Roman Pontiff.

Yet this opinion is refuted with no trouble. For the same Anacletus in Epistle 3 speaks thus: “The most holy Roman Church obtained primacy not from the Apostles, but from our Lord and Savior himself, just as he said to Blessed Peter: ‘You are Peter, etc.’”

For this reason the same author writes that the Apostles would have Peter as their prince, but does not speak on the will to establish him, but rather, on the approval and acknowledgment that the Lord had instituted him. It seems that Pope Julius I spoke the same. Moreover the response can also be made to the testimony of Julius: without a doubt, Peter has primacy from Christ alone. Nevertheless, the Roman Church, concerning which Julius is speaking there has it in some manner from the Apostles.

For (as we taught above), the Roman Pontiff, as he is the successor of Peter, has the primacy from Christ: nevertheless, the cause of the succession arose from a deed of Peter. For which reason St. Gregory says: “He elevated the seat, in which he deigned to rest and end the present life.” 669

Furthermore, it is added on the name of *Vicar*, that it presents no difficulty. For if in one place the Roman Pontiff is called the Vicar of Peter, because St. Peter still lives, and did not leave behind the government of the Church, as Leo says, 670 since nevertheless, St. Peter did not properly exercise pastoral office but ruled and protected the Church by merits and prayers; these are improper locutions, and made only on account of the reverence for St. Peter that some time later were usurped. This is why St. Leo, in the noted place above, says that he is also an heir of St. Peter.

The second opinion, which teaches that the primacy was established by Councils, Nilus tries to prove by two arguments. The first, is that in the Council of Chalcedon, Can. 28 (as he cites), or Act 16 in our codex, there he says the Council held the Primacy of the Roman Church from the Fathers, for the reason that this city commanded the whole world in the time of the Empire.

Secondly, Nilus argues that in the law of Justinian we read: “We discern according to the decree of the holy Synods that the most holy Bishop of old Rome is first of all priests.” 671 Such reasoning of Nilus can be confirmed from the Fourth Council under Symmachus, where we read: “In the first place of the Apostolic See, the merit of Blessed Peter, thereafter, the authority of the Councils, must be venerated, and handed on singular power in the Churches.’ Illyricus cites this same opinion in his book, 672 he proves with testimony from four citations: epistle 301 (as he cites it, still it is 288) of Aeneas Silvias afterward Pope Pius II; accordingly in that epistle Aeneas so speaks: “Before

he Council of Nicaea everyone lived for himself, and scant respect was paid to he Roman Church."

But these arguments can be easily answered. That the Roman Pontiff, not by Councils, but by Christ has the primacy, besides so many arguments already added, Gelasius witnesses in his 70th Council of bishops: "The Holy Roman Church was not given preference by any synods constituted in the other Church, but obtained the Primacy from the Evangelic voice of our Lord and Savior."

This is how I respond to the first argument of Nilus: that decree is indeed of a great Council, but it was not done legitimately; hence it is of no strength or authority. For from Act 16 itself, of the same Council, it is certain that the decree was made while the Legates of the Apostolic See were absent, who presided over the Council; it is likewise certain that the same Legates clearly protested.

A decree of a general Council is not legitimate, which is done without the Roman Pontiff or his Legate, as the Seventh Council witnesses (which Nilus also receives), in Act 6, that we would omit, meanwhile, other testaments. Not only did the Legates of St. Leo resist the Synod, in as much as it attained to that decree: but St. Leo himself, who confirmed the other decrees of that Council condemned and reproved that one, in Epistle 51 to the Bishops of Anatolia. 673 Why? Because in that decree there are two manifest falsehoods. One is, that the Fathers of the Council of Nicaea allotted primacy to the Roman Pontiff. For the Council of Nicaea did not allot primacy to the Roman Pontiff, just as before it had not, for Canon 6 of Nicaea begins thus (as it is recited in Act. 16 of the same Council of Chalcedon): "The Roman Church has always had the primacy." Lastly, if before the Council of Nicaea the Pope did not have the Primacy: by what law was Dionysius, the Patriarch of Alexandria, around 60 years before the Council of Nicaea, accused in the presence of the Roman Pontiff? And did the Roman Pontiff deny himself to be the judge, or did Alexandria refuse that judgment, since, nevertheless, each man was a saint? That these things are so, St. Athanasius writes. 674 Lastly, there is no word in the whole Council of Nicaea, in which some new power is allotted to the Roman Pontiff, as we sufficiently showed above.

The other matter which is asserted in that decree is no less false: namely that the reason why the Fathers had conceded the primacy of Rome, is that this city was the seat of the Empire. For the eloquent words of St. Leo and St Gelasius refute this, and the reason is in view. For, as Gelasius rightly

emarked, Milan, and Ravenna, Sirmium, Trier and Nicomedia were the seats of the Empire for a long time: 675 nevertheless, the Fathers did not give any primacy to those bishops. Therefore, it should remain, that all the Fathers teach in a common consensus, that the Roman See is the first of all Sees, because it is the See of the Prince of the Apostles. The presence of the Emperor certainly does not confer it, any more than his absence could take it away.

Now to the second argument I respond: the Canons of Councils granted authority to the Roman Church in a certain measure, because they declared and asserted. It is even said that in a certain measure, the Council of Nicaea defined the Son of God to be consubstantial with the Father. For that reason, John II, in an epistle to Justinian, after he had said the Roman Church is the head of Churches, he added: "Just as the rules and statutes of the Fathers declare." And Nicholas I, in his epistle to the Emperor Michael: "These privileges were given to this Church by Christ, not by Synods, yet they are celebrated and honored by the same."

And in the Fourth Synod under Symmachus, three reasons are enumerated if anyone would prudently draw his attention to it, for the primacy of the Roman Church; thus we read, "His authority, that is, of Symmachus, remains first by the merit of Peter, next, following the Lord's command, the authority of the venerable Councils handed over singular power over the Churches."

Firstly, "the merit of Peter" is posited, because Peter obtained the primacy on account of the merit of his confession. 676 Secondly, it is posited "by the Lord's command," whereby the Primacy was established and conferred upon Peter, when it was said to him: "Feed my sheep." 677 Thirdly, the authority of Councils is posited, which declared this command of the Lord.

Now to Illyricus' objection we can easily respond. For, Aeneas Sylvius in that epistle attempts to show nothing else but that the primacy of the Roman Pontiff was established by Christ; thus the epistle begins to Martin Mayer "There are several men of your nation, having little thought, in whom the authority of the Roman Pontiff seems to be neither necessary nor established by Christ. Therefore, we have resolved to write this epistle against them and transmit it to you, in order that if ever such men should come to you, you shall have it from us, whereby it shall be the sword with which you shall slay their boldness."

Although when he says "before the Council of Nicaea each lived for himself, and there was little regard for the Roman Church," he means nothing other than that on account of continual persecutions, the Roman Pontiffs could

not freely exercise that authority which they had received from Christ; and on that account, the other bishops were compelled to look to themselves, and there was not much regard for the Roman Church. Now this opinion of Aeneas Sylvius is partly true, and partly false.

On the one hand, it is true that the authority of the Pope at that time was not a little impeded, as is clear from the persecutions which arose in that time but on the other, it is not true that scant regard was held for the Roman Church as the examples which we brought to bear above clearly declare.

The third opinion, from those four above, has almost no foundation. For it is certain that Pontiffs were earlier than Cardinals, and at least some true Pontiffs were not created by Cardinals. Certainly not the Cardinals, but Christ created Peter Pope, and Peter, not the Cardinals, chose Clement. Besides, if the Cardinals conferred power on the Pope, they could also take it away: however this is false by the consensus of all; for even a doubtful Pope is not deposed by Cardinals, but by a general Council.

Yet you will say: Whatever is the case with Cardinals, it is certain that the Roman Pontiff is chosen by men and created; therefore, he receives power from them. Moreover, truly and properly, the Supreme Pontiff is made so by men and it is witnessed in the decree of election of Gregory VII, which is contained in his life with Platina in these words: “We, Cardinals of the Roman Church Clerics, Acolytes, Subdeacons, Priests, with bishops, abbots and many others present, both of the Ecclesiastical and Lay order, we choose today, on the 23rd of April, in the Basilica of St. Peter in chains, in the year of our salvation 1073 so will that the Archdeacon Hildebrand, become the true Vicar of Christ. He is a man of much doctrine, great piety, prudence, justice, constancy, religion modesty, sobriety, continence, governing his house, giving shelter to the poor educated in the lap of Holy Mother the Church from his tender youth even to this present age, a learned man, whom indeed we will to be in charge of the power of the Church of God, whereby Peter was in charge by a clear command of God.”

From which it appears, two things can be deduced. One, the Pope is not above the Church, but is subject to it, seeing that the Church makes a Pope, the Pope does not make the Church, which is the analogy of the book of the Smalkaldic synod in *Cont. Prim.* The second, is that the Pontiff has all the power which he has by human law, not by divine law. And in the first there is no analogy, for electors of the Empire create an Emperor, and the people create

a king; yet an Emperor is above the electors, and a King is above the people But nor does the second avail to anything.

I respond: it must be observed, that in the Pontiff are three things: *the Pontificate itself*, which is, just as a type of form; *the person*, which is the subject of the Pontificate; and *the union*, of one with another. From such things the first is the Pontificate itself, which is from Christ alone: but the person is indeed absolutely from natural causes; nevertheless as the *person* was chosen and designated to the Pontificate from electors, it is theirs to designate a person The true union is from Christ mediating the human act of the electors, while they choose and designate a certain person, they agree to the union of the pontificate with that person.

Therefore, the electors are truly said to create the Pope, and to be the cause that there be such a Pontiff, and that he should have that power; nevertheless they did not themselves give that power, nor are they the cause of its power Just as in the generation of a man, because the soul is infused by God alone and still the father, begetting by disposing the matter, is the cause of the union of the soul with the body; a man is said to beget a man, and still he is not said to produce the soul of man. Hence those words of the electors: "Whom indeed we would have it be in charge with that power, etc." only declare and express the perfect election of a man as the successor of Peter.

The fourth opinion is held by many heretics, who still do not agree among themselves. For Marsilius of Padua, and afterward John Wycliff and John Huss said that the Pope received authority from Caesar. They appear to have understood by the name of Caesar, Constantine the Great, on account of the Canon which begins *Constantinus*, dist. 96, where Constantine decreed that the Roman Pontiff must be held in that place by all priests, like a king is held by lower judges of the whole kingdom. 678

John Calvin says that the primacy of the Pope over the Greeks was given by the Emperor Phocas: over the Gauls and Germans by Pepin the short, and afterward by Charlemagne, King of the Franks. 679

Luther says that it was Constantine IV who conferred primacy on the Pontiff, and in testimony of this affair he cites Plantina in his life of Benedict II 680 Nevertheless, the same Luther teaches in another place that the primacy of the Pope was introduced by the emperor Phocas; 681 which likewise the Centuriators teach, 682 as well as others. 683

They can all be easily refuted. In the first place, the opinion on Constantine is of no harm to us. For Constantine the Great gave his palace at the Lateran

and many other temporal possessions to the Supreme Pontiff; still he never gave any spiritual dowry, nor could he. For in the same Canon Constantine declares that St. Peter was the Vicar of Christ, and for that reason his successors ought to be held as Princes and Heads of the whole Church. Therefore, Constantine only declared an ancient law, and adorned the Pope with many added temporal gifts.

Add what the Lutherans and Calvinists contend must be supposed by this canon; hence in this time there is no edict from Constantine for us with the heretics, in as much as to spiritual jurisdiction. They affirm it did not begin with Constantine.

Next, the opinion of Luther rests upon a false foundation: Platina did not say that Constantine IV gave primacy to the Pontiff, but remitted his law that he had or thought he had in confirmation of the Pontiff. The predecessors of Constantine IV, from the times of Justinian, who freed the city from the Goths, did not permit the election of a new Pope, unless they had confirmed it; and the Popes tolerated this for the sake of the good of the Church, because they saw he could not exercise his office against the will of the Emperor: that could be understood from St. Gregory.

For in the explication of the fourth penitential Psalm, he vehemently detests the temerity of the Emperors, who usurped the right in the Roman Church to themselves.

And still St. Gregory himself, as his biographer John the deacon writes, since he was elected to the Pontificate by the clergy and the people, he wrote secretly to the Emperor, begging that he would in nowise give his consent: but the Prefect of the city sent men knowing the affair, who seized upon the letter of Gregory en route, and tore up his letter, which they also did: and he directed other messengers, who would point out the election of clergy and people to the Emperor, and beg his confirmation. [684]

Therefore, Platina writes that Constantine IV, moved by the sanctity of Benedict II, sent to him sanction, whereby he would ask, that he whom clergy and people chose, should soon after be held as the true Vicar of Christ, without need to wait for any opinion of the Emperor. Therefore, the sanction of Constantine IV was not concerning the power of the Pope, as Luther thought, but only in regard to his election.

Now to that argument about Phocas, I respond: Phocas published a sanction, in which he declared the Roman Church is the Head of all Churches, as Bede witnesses, as well as Ado and Paul the Deacon. [685] Yet it was not on

hat account that this primacy was introduced by Phocas, for Phocas ratified i
by declaring and asserting, not by establishing a new thing: this can be prover
by most certain reason.

For Gregory says: “On the see of Constantinople, who doubts that it is
subject to the Apostolic See, since our most pious Lord and Emperor, as well as
ny brother Eusebius, the bishop of the same city, profess it in earnest.” 686
The epistle was written around five years before the reign of Phocas, as can be
gathered clearly from a number of indications.

Next, Justinian the elder, who was around 70 years before Phocas, in an
epistle to Pope John II, affirmed the Roman Church is the Head of all
Churches, and Valentinian, who preceded Phocas by around 140 years, asserted
n an epistle to Theodosius, that the Roman Pontiff had the rule of priesthood
over all. It is corroborated by the testimonies of Irenaeus, Athanasius, Cyril
Theodoret, Sozomen, and other Greeks whom we cited above.

The reason why Phocas reckoned that an affair so certain should be ratified
again, was the pride of the Bishops of Constantinople, as Bede, Ado and Paul
he deacon noted in the cited works. Since they wrote that they were universal
Patriarchs, and first of all bishops against all law and right, and the
excommunications which Popes Pelagius and Gregory, the Roman Pontiffs, had
mposed upon them could not break their obstinance, it seemed good to the
Emperor that he, whom the Greeks feared more, should interpose himself
Therefore, he declared that the Roman Church is the head of all Churches
hence the Bishop of Constantinople was not a universal bishop, but a particular
one and subject to the Apostolic See.

Now, I respond to the argument about Pepin the short: Calvin makes use of
a wondrous artifice to summon a true historical account but roll it up in lies in
defense of his heresies. For, on the one hand he says that by the suffrage of the
Pontiffs, Pepin attained the kingdom of France, and Charlemagne the Empire of
he Romans; it is true, and related by many historical letters. Yet what he says
unjustly and wickedly, that the true King of France was despoiled of his
kingdom by Pope Zachary and Pepin is false, and contumelious, not only
against the Pope, but even the Kings of France and the Emperors of Germany
who both descend from that Pepin. But he adds, for that reason the primacy
was conceded to the Pope by Pepin and Charlemagne over France and
Germany as the custom of thieves to divide the prey, so that to Pepin and
Charlemagne he would cede temporal dominion, but to the Popes, rule of

priesthood, is not only false, but even contrary to the first lie: therefore, lies oppose themselves, and one destroyed the other.

And first, the fact that Zachary justly and legitimately deposed King Childeric, and bid Pepin be created, every historian who wrote anything about this event, both Greeks and Latins affirm 687 (with the exceptions of the Centuriators and Calvin). 688 They all relate that a little before the times of Pepin, the Kings of the Franks had so degenerated from their elders, that nearly every care of the kingdom had been transferred to the Masters of Horse, or the Prefect of the Hall, and the king was only seen once a year on the first of May when they would show him to the people: the rest of the time, they devoted themselves to pleasure and delight; and on that account, by the agreement of all the nobles, it was demanded from the Supreme Pontiff that he would permit them to transfer the title of the Kings to those who were truly in fact Kings, and long ago had happily administered the business of the kingdom. What they rightly demanded was most just: indeed France labored on account of those serious monstrous infamies with all nations, and likewise the kingdom was replete with innumerable dissensions.

Not only this, (as these authors relate) but there was no business of the kingdom that these kings took care of, rather, even on account of their inertia religion so labored in Gaul, that it had almost been extinguished, as is clear from St. Boniface, 689 who says for nearly 80 years, while this Sardanalpalus reigned, 690 there was no Synod celebrated. Episcopal Churches were possessed by laity and tax collectors, clerics had four or five concubines at once, and religion had been tread upon and dissipated.

Therefore, since Zachary understood now that for many years the Kings of France were so in name only, and Childeric, who then reigned, not only neglected all the custom of his ancestors, but even lacked altogether every quality, and truly was said to be (and was) stupid: at the same time, he saw the kingdom and religion in France come to ruin, and all the Nobles of the Kingdom desired Pepin, at length, as he looked to that which would provide safety for all. The Pope judged it to be lawful to transfer the kingdom of France from Childeric to Pepin, and also absolved them from the oath which they had been obliged to make to Childeric. That his decision was just, no man of sound mind would deny: especially when the event taught the change was most happy; never was the kingdom of the Franks more powerful or religion more flourishing than in the time of Pepin and Charlemagne.

Lastly, add the fact that nearly all the cited authors write, that the one who anointed and crowned Pepin as King at the Pope's command was a very holy man, namely St. Boniface, Bishop and Martyr, who certainly was never the author of any public injustice or crime.

But now, that it was never on account of Pepin or Charlemagne that the primacy of the Pope was brought into Germany and France, can easily be shown.

First, because nobody writes this, apart from Calvin. Rather the cited authors, and especially Paulus Aemilius, say that the Kings of the Franks received the protection of the Apostolic See against the Lombards, and other enemies, and they gave to the Pope the exarchate of Ravenna, and certain other temporal things: but they never mention any spiritual dowry.

Next, if the Nobles of the Kingdom sought from the Pope by Legates to be absolved from the oath, and that it would be lawful to transfer the kingdom from Childeric to Pepin, as Paulus Aemilius and others write; certainly they thought, that the Pope was in charge of the whole Church and specifically France: otherwise why did they not seek from their own bishops, or why did they not do what they wanted without a license from the Pope? Nay more, why did they wait that the Pope would command it, as Rheginus and others write? Therefore, if the Pope exercised the primacy in France before Pepin had been created king, how did he receive that primacy from Pepin? Do they not fight against themselves?

Next, before the times of Pepin it is certain, that the Franks and Germans were subject to the Roman Pontiff in spiritual matters. For St. Boniface, the bishop of Moguntinus, wrote an epistle to Pope Zachary, from the Prince Caroloman, as he indicates in the same place: hence Pepin has already been made King; for it is certain that Caroloman, after laying aside his rule became a monk before the exaltation of Pepin in the kingdom: but in that epistle he clearly professes the Churches of Germany then were subject to the Pontiff, and also among other things, sought from the Pope that he should erect three Episcopates in Germany, and give him authority to call a council of bishops in France, and many other matters of this kind.

Likewise St. Bede, who preceded Pepin by about a hundred years, says "Since Gregory leads the Pontificate in the whole world." I believe Calvin would not say that France and Germany are not part of "the whole world."

St. Gregory, who preceded Pepin by nearly 200 years, committed all 52 bishops of France to Virgilius the Bishop of Arles in his stead, and commanded

hat more serious cases be referred to the judgment of the Apostolic See 'Insofar as it should be fitting without a doubt for opinion to be finished."

St. Leo, who preceded Pepin by 350 years, writes: "Your fraternity ecognizes with us, that the Apostolic See, was to be consulted by the nnumerable priests of your province, as well as for appeal of different cases, or etractions, or confirmation and judgments." 691

St. Cyprian, who flourished more than 500 years before Pepin, writes to Pope Stephen so that he would depose the Bishop of Arles, and put another in his place. St. Irenaeus, who preceded Pepin by 600 years, said: "To the Roman Church, on account of a mightier preeminence, it is necessary for every Church o agree, this is, all who are faithful on every side." He did not except France since he was a French Bishop, and we might not leave out the fact that when he Lord said to Peter and his successors: "Feed my sheep," without a doubt he numbered Germany and France among his sheep.

Chapter XVIII: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is Proven from the Authority Which the Roman Pontiff Exercised over Other Bishops.

The sixth argument is taken from the authority which the ancient Pontiffs always exercised over other bishops. Accordingly we read, that bishops were established throughout the whole world by Roman Pontiffs, or deposed, or restored, the singular events of which should suffice in themselves to show this primacy.

And first, many examples can be brought to bear on the establishment of bishops. We read, for instance, in the Council of Chalcedon, Act 7, that Maximus was confirmed in the Episcopacy of Antioch by St. Leo the Great Likewise, Anatolius, the Bishop of Constantinople, was confirmed by Leo, who writes thus: "It should be enough that by the aid of your piety, and the assent of my favor, he obtained the Episcopate of such a city." 692

Leo also writes in an Epistle to Anastasius, the Bishop of Thessalonika 'On the person of the bishop to be consecrated, and from the consent of the clergy and people, the Metropolitan Bishop relates to your fraternity, that each is well pleased in his province, that he should see to it to know you that your authority should rightly strengthen the ordination which must be celebrated.' And further on: "Just as we wish in no way to importune the just elections by delays, so we permit nothing to be presumed without your knowledge." And in Epistle 87 to the bishops of Africa: "Donatus Salicinensis, as we discovered was converted from Novation with his own, so we wish to preside over the Lord's flock, that he was mindful to send us the profession of his faith."

St. Gregory taught, in his epistle to Constance Augusta: "The Bishop of the city of Salona was ordained without my knowledge and response, and the matter came to pass which happened under no earlier princes." 693 And everywhere he shows in his epistles, that he sent the pallium himself, which is the insignia of an Archbishop, to different Archbishops in Greece, France Spain, etc. Still it must be remarked, the fact that although the primacy of the Roman Pontiff is proven from the confirmation of bishops, nevertheless, it is not necessary that he would have confirmed all bishops always; he could

permit that this be done by Patriarchs and Primates, as it appears was the case in many places.

Now, on the deposition there are many examples extant, and in the first place from St. Cyprian. He writes to Pope St. Stephen saying: "Let your letters be directed to the province, and to the people of Arles, in which Marcianus being avoided, let another be substituted in his place." 694 And further: "You will make plain to us, who should be constituted in place of Marcianus of Arles, in order that we may know to whom to direct our brethren, and to whom we ought to write."

Calvin takes up the argument on this citation: "I ask, if Stephen was then over Gaul, can it be that Cyprian was going to say to those being coerced, that they are yours'? Yet by far, fraternal society is another thing, in which we have been subdued among ourselves, requiring that we advise each other." 695

I respond: These words, which Calvin cites, are never discovered in Cyprian. Thereupon, if Cyprian thought that Stephen was not over Gaul, but could only advise in friendship, why did he not advise the Gauls himself?

Nicholas I enumerates eight Patriarchs of Constantinople, in his epistle to the Emperor Michael, whom the Roman Pontiffs had deposed, among which was one Anthimus, whom Pope Agapetus deposed, not without the hindrance of the Emperor and Empress, and ordained in his place with his own hands Menas, as Liberatus and Zonaras write in their works. 696 Likewise, Pope Gelasius, in his epistle to the bishop of the Dardanelles: "The Apostolic See condemned Dioscorus, prelate of the Second See, by its own authority." And likewise: "The see of Blessed Peter did not receive Peter of Alexandria whom it had not merely condemned, but refused to absolve."

On that account Damasus deposed Flavian, the Patriarch of Antioch, as Theodoret writes. 697 And although the Emperor Theodosius strove to stabilize Flavian in the Episcopate, still he commanded him to continue to Rome to state his case. And Theophilus of Alexandria, though legates interceded with the Roman Pontiff on behalf of Flavian, as Socrates relates. 698 Sozomen witnesses that Chrysostom did his best to do the same. 699 Next, Flavian could possess that episcopate before him, which the Roman Pontiff, being pleased agreed, and he promised that he was going to admit his legates, who soon after sent many bishops and especially priests of the Antiochene Church to the Pope as the same Theodoret writes.

Sixtus III also deposed the Bishop Polychronicus of Jerusalem, after sending St. Leo while he was an Archdeacon to Jerusalem. 700 Therefore, if

he Roman Pontiff at some time deposed every patriarch, namely those o Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, certainly he is the supreme judge in the Church.

Next, there are many examples on the restitution of bishops deposed by others. For St. Cyprian says: “He cannot rescind an ordination legally carried out, because Basilides, after his crimes were discovered, continued on to Rome where he deceived Stephen, our colleague, who is far removed and unaware o he affair and the truth, that he would solicit to be replaced unjustly in the Episcopate, from which he had been justly deposed, etc.” 701

Next, Athanasius of Alexandria, Paul of Constantinople, and Marcellus o Ancyra, all bishops who were deposed by an Eastern Synod, Pope Julius restored, as Gelasius writes in the epistle to the bishop of the Dardanelles, and Sozomen records in his histories: “Since on account of the dignity of the sea which looks to the care of all, he restored each one to his own Church.” And further on: “Athanasius and Paul returned to their own sees, and they sent the letter of Pope Julius to the Eastern Bishops.” 702 Likewise, we read the following from the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon on the deposition o Theodoret by the Council of Ephesus: “Even let the most Reverend Bisho Theodoret enter so that he may be a partaker of the Synod, because the mos holy Archbishop Leo has restored him to his Episcopate.” 703 Many simila testimonies can be brought to bear, to which our adversaries altogether canno respond, nor do they attempt to.

On the other hand, Nilus proposes five arguments. The first argument, i hat the Bishop of Rome is said to be first, because Constantinople is second from him, Alexandria is third from him, Antioch is fourth, Jerusalem fifth, bu first and second are not said as one is superior and the other inferior, but only concerning those matters which are of the same rank and dignity; therefore, the Bishop of Rome is not said to be first by reason of Tusculum or Tiburtinus which are subject to her.

I respond: The Roman Pontiff is Bishop, Archbishop, Patriarch and Pope a he same time. As Bishop, he is first in this province by reason of Ostia, which is second, and Portus which is third, and of the rest, which can be counted i hat order. Yet, as Archbishop, he is not first by reason of Ostia, which is not a Archepiscopate, but a simple bishopric subject to the Roman Archbishop Nevertheless, it is first by reason of the Archbishop of Ravenna, Milan and o he rest of the western Archepiscopates.

Furthermore, as the proper Patriarch of the West, he is not first by reason of Ravenna and the rest, which are not Patriarchs, but by reason of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, which are Patriachates. And in this way the five Primary Sees can be counted, each of which presides over many great provinces.

Lastly, as Pope and Head of the universal Church, he is not first by reason of Constantinople, or of any other, rather it is Prince and Pastor of all, nor does it have any second in power as a colleague. For, just in the same way as there ought to be among the Bishops of the same province one who is over the rest and is called an Archbishop, and among Archbishops of many provinces, there is one who should be over the others and is called a Patriarch, for equal reasoning, among the Patriarchs of the Catholic Church, there ought to be one who presides over the rest and is named the Pope or the Vicar of Christ. And this is the Roman Pontiff, as we have shown by many arguments.

Now for the second argument of Nilus. He proposes that the Sixth Council in Canon 36 renewed the constitution of the Second and Fourth Council, which granted the Bishop of Constantinople equal privileges with those which the Bishop of Rome has. Therefore, the Bishop of Rome is not of greater authority and dignity than Constantinople, hence he cannot command all other bishops.

I respond: In the Second General Council the Bishop of Constantinople was not equated to the Bishop of Rome, rather, he was only placed before Alexandria and Antioch, as is clear from Canon 5 of the same Council, whose words are these: “It is meet that the Bishop of the city of Constantinople should have the honor of primacy after the Bishop of Rome, due to the fact that it is the new Rome.”

But in the Council of Chalcedon, Act 16, they added to the same canon that it is fitting for him to have equal privileges with the Roman Pontiff, but since the Legates of the Pontiff protested, the same Council wrote an epistle to Leo, in which it asked him to confirm the decrees of the Council: But the Fathers did not dare to make mention in that epistle of equal privileges, they merely wrote that they had renewed the Canon of the Second Council, in which second honor was attributed to the Bishop of Constantinople. [704]

St. Leo also responded in an epistle to the Council, [705] in which, as in all other places where he wrote on this case, he makes no mention of equal privileges, but only bitterly condemns the ambitious lust of the Bishop of Constantinople because he wished to place himself before Alexandria and Antioch.

Nicephorus also writes in his history, that when Pope John I came to Constantinople, the Pontiff was invited by the Emperor Justin that he would sit next to Epiphanius the Patriarch of Constantinople, so that it would appear as though they were equal. But the Pontiff did not wish to sit until a throne had been set up for himself over Epiphanius for the prerogative of the Apostolic See. 706 From that it appears, that the canon on equal privileges was not admitted, even a long time after the Council of Chalcedon, and it had not force even in that Council, otherwise Epiphanius could have cited the canon of that Council, for he would not have suffered a throne to be set up for the Roman Pontiff over himself in his own Church. Wherefore, there is only Canon 36 of the Sixth Council, which equates the Bishop of Constantinople with Rome.

The rest of these canons are of no more force: for they are no canons of the true Sixth Council which was legitimate and ecumenical, but of another specific gathering, which was falsely named the Sixth Council. It is certain that the Sixth Council which was celebrated under Pope Agatho and the Emperor Constantine IV, published no such Canons, rather five years after that Synod had been dissolved, again they came together with I know not how many Greek bishops under the authority of the Emperor Justinian the Younger, and it published many canons in the name of the Sixth Synod. 707 The fact is manifestly gathered from the very origin of these canons, and from the confession of Tharasius the Bishop of Constantinople in the VII Council, act 4 that these same canons which Bede calls the erratic Synod, and they were condemned by Pope Sergius who then sat, as Bede records. 708 From which it follows that same false Sixth Council, either was not general, or it was not legitimate: for it cannot be a legitimate general council, where the authority of the First See is lacking, as the Greeks themselves affirmed in the VII Council act. 6.

And hence, for what reason can it be called a legitimate general Council, to which not even one of the Latins was called? Furthermore, if it was not legitimate, it is plain that it could have no authority. But if it was legitimate, but particular, not general, it could not impose laws except upon men subject to it t could not, therefore, reduce the position of the Roman See, and despoil it of privileges, which it tried in fact to do, when it attempted to equate the See of Constantinople with it, even though it was otherwise inferior and subject to it For the Roman See was never subject to a Greek Council; further in the very matter it is proved that not any Imperial Law or Ecclesiastical Canon, neither by reason or custom, that the Greeks could prove, ergo, there are no laws and

canons, which subject the First See to the Second, it is contrary to all reason Lastly, no testimony can be brought into our midst, whereby it is certain something was done from the authority of the Greek Bishops in the Roman Church, or the rest of the Western Churches.

Next, the primacy of the Roman Church, was either given by Christ, as we believe, or by the Council of Nicaea, as Nilus himself teaches, therefore, by what law could this particular Council in Trullo bring to bear upon that which Christ himself or a general Council had given? It is manifest that the primacy of the Roman Church, through that communication of privileges, which the Council in Trullo ratified with its decree, would be abolished: for one who has equality with someone cannot be over all.

Besides, add that although the Second and Fourth Synod did not equate Constantinople to the Roman Pontiff, but made him only second to the Pontiff nevertheless, that very canon was not ratified as long as the Apostolic See opposed it. For that reason, in the fourth Synod, when the Greeks wanted to give second place to the See of Constantinople, and they suborned the decree of the Second Council from 80 years before to prove this, the Roman Legates said: "If they used this benefice for 80 years, why do they require it now? If they never used it, why do they require it?" By which words they showed that it was in vain to appeal to that decree, because as it was never in use so also it was void.

The third argument. If the Roman Pontiff, because he is the first of Patriarchs, has rule over the second, that is in Constantinople, therefore, for equal reasoning Constantinople, because it is the second, will have rule in Alexandria because it is the third, and Alexandria the third in Antioch which is fourth, and Antioch in Jerusalem which is last. But no reasoning, no law and no custom admits this.

I respond: The Roman Pontiff has rule in Constantinople and the other Patriarchates not because he is first patriarch, but because he alone is the Pope of the universal Church, the successor of Peter and the general Vicar of Christ In the same way, each Archbishop does not preside over the rest of the bishops of the same province because he is first bishop, but because he alone is an Archbishop of that province. But on that account, each Patriarch is not eminent in power over all Archbishops subject to him, but because he himself is the first Archbishop, rather because he might be in that region the supreme and only Patriarch.

The fourth argument. The Roman Bishop does not ordain Patriarchs, jus as Patriarchs ordain their own Metropolitans, and metropolitans their own bishops; therefore, he is not over the Patriarchs, as they are over metropolitans and metropolitans over bishops.

I respond: Indeed the Roman Pontiff did not customarily ordain Patriarchs because it could not be suitably done, since either they would have to come to Rome, or the Pontiff himself would have to set out to them. Nevertheless, he confirmed it through letters, that we showed above from the example of Anatholius of Constantinople, and Maximus of Antioch. And this was no empty confirmation, as the case of Flavian clearly declares, because he could never obtain the Church of Antioch so long as the Bishop of Rome would not agree. On this point, it is no less a thing to depose or restore than to ordain a bishop: moreover the Roman Pontiff did not once, but as often as it was necessary, either depose or restore Patriarchs, as we proved above. Lastly Menas, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was ordained by Pope Agatho, and Nilus cannot be ignorant of the fact, since Zonaras hands down the letters in his life of Justinian.

The fifth argument is that The Council of Nicaea, canon 6, determined the regions assigned to all the Patriarchs; and certainly handed the West to the Bishop of Rome, Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis to Alexandria, Syria to Antioch as well as Mesopotamia; therefore, the one Roman Pontiff ought not rule everywhere, and command the other Patriarchs.

I respond: The Council of Nicaea assigned no region to the Roman Pontiff. What Nilus says about the West, he learned from the interpretation of Balsamon, not from the canon of the Council itself: for in that canon there is nothing about the Roman Pontiff, except this little sentence, which Nilus himself cites thus: Epeiv kai, tw/| e.n th/ Rw,mh evpismo,pw| pou/to sunhqe,j evsti,n. 709 When such words render the reasoning, why Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis ought to be subject to the Bishop of Alexandria according to ancient custom, they cannot yield any another sense than that the Roman Pontiff customarily consigned the governance of those three provinces to the Bishop of Alexandria.

Thereupon, if the Council of Nicaea wished to determine the dowry to the Roman Pontiff, why did it not begin from that? Why does it begin from Alexandria, which was second? And why did it not name the region, which it gave to the Roman Pontiff? Add, lastly, that even if the Council of Nicaea spoke with eloquent words, that the West properly pertained to the Roman

Pontiff, still Nilus would altogether gain nothing; for without a doubt, it was to be understood on the dowry of the Patriarchate of the Roman Pontiff, apart from which he would still have the same supreme power over every Church. It must be observed in passing what Nilus says, namely, that the West ought to be subject to the Roman Pontiff, is passed over by Illyricus in his very faithful translation, lest Illyricus would be compelled to be subject to the Roman Pontiff from the testimony of Nilus.

Chapter XIX: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is Proven from Laws, Dispensations and Censures

A seventh argument can be introduced from the authority of imposing laws, dispensing them and punishing according to them, which the Bishop of Rome exercised over the sons of the Church, although they may have been very great and noble. Numerous examples can be advanced from laws: it was a rare thing that there were any Pontiffs who did not decree something.

St. Leo the Great writes to the Bishops of Campania, Piacenza and Thuscia, and constituted through all provinces, speaking thus at the end of the epistle: “After our admonition, let them give notice that if anyone of the brethren will have come against these constitutions, or attempts to do so, and will have dared to admit those things which are forbidden, he will know that he must be removed from his office . . . All the decretals constituted by Innocent of happy memory, which were ordained of all by our predecessors on Ecclesiastical orders, and disciplines of the canons, so we command that you love ought to safeguard so that if anyone will have scorned them, thereafter pardon will be refused to him.” In like manner, he prescribes two laws to Dioscorus the Bishop of Alexandria, and in each uses these words: “We wish it also to be guarded by you.”

Pope Hilary, presiding in a Roman Council said: “It shall be lawful for no one without danger to his status or divine constitutions, even to make bold the decrees of the Apostolic see.” Pope Anastasius II said: “Let hard pride no resist the Apostolic commands, but through obedience to those matters which are commanded by the authority of the Holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See, may they be profitably fulfilled, if with the same holy Church of God which is your Head, you desire to have communion.” St. Gregory, in a privilege which he gave to the Monastery of St. Menard, is also wrote at the end of a epistle: “If anyone, of kings, judges, bishops, or of any secular persons, will have violated the decrees of this apostolic authority and our command, let him be deprived of his honor.”

On dispensations, we have an example in Epistle 1 of Gelasius (for we pass over the infinite more recent examples for the sake of efficiency): “by the necessary disposition of things we are joined, and we are agreed upon the

management of the Apostolic See, thus to balance the decrees of the paterna canons, and to measure the precepts of our prelates and retiring ones, so tha such necessity of the present times demands to be relaxed from the restorec churches, while loving consideration was applied, we refrained as much as i could be done." And he dispenses the same in many ways. Likewise, St Gregory says in a letter 710 that he dispensed concerning Matrimony with the English in prohibited degrees: and again, with the Siculi, that they may only once celebrate a Council in a year, since otherwise the rule commands Councils to be celebrated twice in a year. Hence, this rule, which Gregory dispensed, is Canon 5 of the First General Council.

On Censures there are many examples, and indeed they are very ancient For Innocent I, when he heard that Chrysostom died, he excommunicated the Emperor Arcadius and Eudoxia his wife, who did not permit Chrysostom to be restored to his see, as Innocent himself had commanded. The epistle of Innocent on this affair is contained in Nicephorus' Histories. 711

Nor can it be objected that even Ambrose, who was not a Supreme Pontiff excommunicated the Emperor. For Ambrose did that in his Church, when the Emperor had a seat at Milan: but Ambrose would not have dared to excommunicate someone outside of the diocese of Milan. Moreover, Innocent also excommunicated Emperors at Constantinople, as well as those living there Next, Gregory III, in like manner, excommunicated the Greek Emperor Leo, as Zonaras witnesses in the life of Leo the Istaurian.

Nicholas I excommunicated Lothar the King of Gaul and his concubine Vladrada, rather than his proper bishops, the Archbishops of Cologne and Trier On this point the Centuriators of Magdeburg tell the most impudent lies, when they say that King Lothar and the Archbishops were unjustly harassed by Pope Nicholas. For as many historians write, 712 Lothar, from hatred toward Thietberga, his wife, and for love toward his concubine, suborned false witnesses to convict his wife of incest, and then, on the authority of the Archbishop of Cologne and Trier, repudiated her and lead his concubine to wife, all of which those Archbishops confessed at Rome in Council.

Therefore, if the Centuriators wish to make Lothar and the Archbishops just, as they do, it is necessary that they accuse Paul, who in 1 Corinth. VII teaches that not even on account of the case of fornication could one marry another while the first wife is living. What about the fact that the wife of Lothar did not sin, but was only condemned by false testimonies, do the Centuriators justify false testimonies so they can scold the Pope in some way?

But we have the example of the most illustrious and ancient. For, when Pius I decreed that Easter should not be celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month of the Jews, but on the following Sunday, and the Asians refused to acquiesce, Pope Victor I excommunicated all of them around the year 190, as Eusebius writes. 713

Calvin objects, however, that Victor was rebuked on this account by Irenaeus and rightly obeyed the one rebuking him, without a protest. 714

I respond: Irenaeus, along with many others, rebuked Victor, because it seemed that he had cut such Churches off from the unity of the Church for so trifling a cause (Eusebius witnesses the same thing), but the fact that Victor changed his sentence, *we read nowhere*. And even if Victor had changed his sentence, Calvin would gain nothing from that. We would say that the same power whereby Victor bound the Asians, he absolved them.

Next, the rebuke of Irenaeus and others does not diminish, but rather more increases the force of our argument. For in the same measure, whereby there were many displeased by the sentence of Victor, so they could more easily condemn or rather more preferably excommunicate Victor, if they thought he was one from the number of bishops, rather than the head and judge of all. But in reality, there was not anyone who taught that the sentence was void, or thought that Victor must be condemned or excommunicated; nor was there anyone who warned him lest he might exceed his limits and lest he might judge those not subject to him; in fact, they ought to have warned him if Victor truly was not the judge of all. Moreover, they reckoned Victor did what he could, not what he ought. Their words sound thus in Eusebius: “Their letters are extant, in which they more bitterly rebuke Victor, as if consulting him that it was unprofitable to what was fitting for the Church.”

Moreover, this must be observed, that although Irenaeus and others then thought that Victor had acted imprudently, nevertheless, really he acted very prudently, as the whole Church judged afterward. For one from those particular authors of that opinion, on the celebration of Easter with the Jews, was Blastus who in the very matter, little by little wanted to introduce Judaism, as Tertullian writes at the end of *De Praescriptiones contra haereticos:* “Blastus wanted to secretly introduce Judaism: indeed, he said Pascha should be kept in no other way than according to the law of Moses, on the fourteenth day of the month.’ Here, however, Blastus began to sow his heresy at Rome in the time of Pope Victor, as Eusebius witnesses. 715

Therefore, because Pope Victor saw that truth on Easter was not only a diversity of observance, but bore the tallow of heresy, nay more, Judaism itself he reckoned the time was ripe to oppose it. Therefore, the Fathers of the Council of Nicaea approved of the judgment of Victor, as is clear from Eusebius, 716 and thereafter those who thought the contrary were held as heretics and called Quartodecimans, 717 as is clear from Epiphanius and Augustine. 718

Chapter XX: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is Proven from the Vicars of the Pope

The eighth argument is taken up from the fact that the Supreme Pontiff had his vicars in various regions, either as an ordinary measure or only for a time still with the reservation of greater cases.

For just in the very way that a King sends viceroys to provinces, we understand those provinces subject to the King, and likewise, in the same way the King enjoins judgments upon the governors of the provinces with reservation of certain cases, we yet understand that the King is the supreme judge, so also in the very matter the Apostolic See has vicars in nearly all far off regions, or consigns someone in their places for a time, and wishes more grave business to be referred to him; we rightly gather that the supreme judgement of the whole Church pertains to the Apostolic seat. There are many examples.

Pope Leo makes Anastasius, the Bishop of Thessalonika his vicar for the East, just as his predecessors were the vicars for the predecessors of Leo, which he indicates in the same letter. [719] Such appears to be the reason why, in the Council of Sardica, Canon 20, it was declared, lest clerics from outside Thessalonika should tarry there long. Because there the vicar of the Pope sat clerics met there from the whole Greek world, and often stayed there longer than they should have. Leo also consigned their places to Potentius, the Bishop in the regions of Africa.

Pope Celestine consigned to Cyril of Alexandria in his place in the case of Nestorius, the bishop of Constantinople, as well as the rule of that Church after the bishop was deposed. [720]

Gelasius, in an epistle to the Bishops of the Balkans: “Why did Acacius not take care to relate this to the Apostolic See, by whom he knew care of those regions had been delegated to him?” Here he speaks of the Bishop of Constantinople, Acacius, to whom the Roman Pontiff had consigned care of Egypt and commanded that he should depose the Bishop of Alexandria.

Pope Hormisdas, in an epistle to Salustius the Bishop of Spain, makes him his vicar for Boetica and Lusitania. [721] Justinian writes that the Bishop of

Constantinople in certain places ought to be in charge just as vicars of the Roman Pontiff, because Vigilius constituted him such. 722

St. Gregory constituted the Virgilius, the Bishop of Arles, as his vicar throughout Gaul, and likewise reserved to himself more serious cases.

Chapter XXI: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is Proven from the Law of Appeals

The ninth argument can be made from the fact that whenever something was legitimately called to the Roman Pontiff from any part of the Christian world, no appeal from his judgment was conceded. Thus, it is a very certain argument of rule, as our adversary himself confesses. Calvin says: “It is certain that supreme power is in the hands of the one before whose tribunal a man is called.” But next he adds: “Often many appealed to the Roman Pontiff, he also tried to draw the examination of cases to himself, but was always mocked as often as he exceeded his boundaries.” 723 Therefore, Calvin would have it that many called upon the Pontiff, that they might flee legitimate judgments, but appeals of this sort were derided. Now how truly would someone be mocked who being condemned by Bishop of Florence, would appeal to the Bishop of Milan; or being condemned by the King of Spain, might appeal to the King of France?

Thus it must be proved that one could rightly appeal to the Pontiff, and appeals were not derided, but rather, were received with honor and were efficacious. Firstly, it is proved from the Council of Sardica, which was general and always received in the Church. For Sulpitius writes that it was called from the whole world, and Socrates calls it a general Council. 724

On that account, as Athanasius and Hilary write, 725 there were in that Council more than three hundred Catholic bishops, from thirty six provinces of the whole Christian world, all of which Athanasius names; Italy, Gaul, Spain Britain, Africa, Egypt, Syria, Thrace, Pannonia, and the rest. The legates of Pope Julius were there, as Athanasius relates in the same place. Likewise, the fact that this Synod obliged every Church, is clear from those words which are contained at the end of the Council: “It shall safeguard every Church, which is constituted Catholic, diffused in the whole world.”

Next, the Centuriators had described this Synod as legitimate. 726 In this Synod, two canons are contained on this matter, the Fourth and Seventh. The Fourth Canon reads: “When some bishop had been deposed by a judgment of other bishops, who remained in nearby places, and proclaimed the business was done to him in the city of Rome, another bishop in his seat, after its appeal

who seems to be deposed, should altogether not be ordained, unless the case was determined in the judgment of the Bishop of Rome."

The Seventh Canon: "It pleased, that if a bishop will have been accused and the bishops of his region will have judged, and will have thrown him out from his rank, if he will have appealed, who was cast off and fled to the bishop of the Church of Rome, and will have wished himself to be heard; if he [the Pope] will have reckoned him just, that judgment should be restored. Let him deign to write these bishops, who in the bordering and nearby provinces, as they themselves may diligently require and define according faith and truth. But if he who asks his case to be heard again, if he will have moved by his plea the Bishop of Rome, that he might dismiss the priest from the left: he will be in the power of the bishop, in what he might wish and what he might think. And if he will have decreed they must be sent, who, present with the bishops might judge, having his authority by which they were destined, will be in his judgment: but if he will have believed the bishops to suffice, that they might impose a limit, let them make what he will have judged in his wisest counsel."

Secondly it is proven from Pope Gelasius, who, in an Epistle to Faustus says: "They are canons which would have it that appeals of the whole Church be related to the judgment of this see: from it, no appeal at all ought to be sanctioned." And in an epistle to the Bishops of the Balkans: "To that place from whichever part of the world the Canons would have it appealed, yet no man is permitted to appeal thence."

The third is proven from the examples of those who have appealed. For even before the Council of Sardica, there was the custom in the Church of appealing to the Pontiff, as Leo deservedly relates in an epistle to the Bishops of Gaul, that this is a very ancient custom.

In the year 142, Pius I being Pope, Marcion was excommunicated by his Bishop in Pontus, and came to Rome that he might be absolved by the Roman Church, as Epiphanius relates. [727]

In 252, Cornelius being Pope, Fortunatus and Felix were deposed in Africa by St. Cyprian, and they sailed to Rome so as to appeal to Cornelius. Cyprian witnesses this. [728] Not long after, Stephen being Pope, Basilides was deposed in Spain, and appealed to Stephen. [729]

In the year 350, Julius I being Pope, Athanasius was deposed by the Oriental bishops, and appealed to the Pontiff, and was restored by him, as we showed above from Sozomen, [730] and this judgment came to pass before the Council of Sardica, as Athanasius witnesses in his Second Apology.

After the year 400, while Innocent I was Pope, St. John Chrysostom was deposed by Theophilus, and he appealed to the Pontiff, as is clear from his two epistles to Innocent. Likewise, in the same century, Flavian, the Bishop of Constantinople, appealed to Leo, as Liberatus writes, 731 and Theodoret appealed to the same, as it appears from his epistle to Leo.

After the year 500, Gregory deprived John, a Greek bishop, from holy communion, because he had judged the Bishop of Thebes, who had appealed to the Apostolic see. I omit the testimony of later times, because these are scorned by the heretics. Rather, now the arguments of Nilus, Illyricus and Calvin must be answered.

Chapter XXII: The Arguments of Nilus on the Law of Appeals are Answered

Nilus, in a book on the primacy, contends by two arguments that the Bishop of Constantinople can be called in that mode in which the Roman Pontiff is likewise called, and hence they are equals, and not one Roman Pontiff presides over the whole Church.

The first argument is: Because the VI Council conceded to the bishop equal privileges with those which the Bishop of Rome has. But we refuted this argument above. Nilus takes the second argument from the Council of Chalcedon, Canon 9, where it is stated that if a cleric should have cause against another cleric, let him be judged by his bishop: if against a bishop, then let judgment be given by an archbishop: if against an archbishop, by the one of highest rank of that jurisdiction, or by the Bishop of Constantinople. Therefore the last judgment is deferred to the ecumenical Patriarch of the royal city.

I respond: It is not altogether certain who is called the "one of highest rank of jurisdiction" [*primas dioeceseos*], and indeed John de Turrecremata 732 teaches that the one of highest rank of a jurisdiction describes a bishop more dignified and greater than an Archbishop, but lesser than a Patriarch. But Pope Nicholas I, in his epistle to the Emperor Michael, writes that by *primas dioeceseos*, nothing else can be meant but the Bishop of Rome. Such an opinion appears to be more true, both because the author has serious authority antiquity as well as being more learned, and because it will not easily have been proved that in the time of the Council of Chalcedon there was in the Church, and especially in the East, any Primates distinct from Archbishops and Patriarchs. Furthermore, the Greek term used in this canon is e;xarcoj [exarchos] which does not properly mean a primate, but a prince, and such a term is more suitably squared with the Supreme Pontiff than primates. He alone is truly a prince of any Christian diocese you like.

With these having been noted, I respond: Firstly, that Canon is rightly shown by Pope Nicholas I (loc. cit), that the Council decreed that he who had cause with a Metropolitan, should go to the Prince of the Diocese, that is the Roman Pontiff: or if he was near to the city of Constantinople, and wished to be content with the judgment of that bishop, let him go there. Therefore, it is such that first the general law was constituted on going to the Roman Pope

hereafter, a certain permission is present only for those who tarry near Constantinople.

Secondly, the response can be made that all of these canons have no force with us, except to the extent that they were renewed by the Roman Pontiffs. For Pope Leo writes to the Council of Chalcedon, that he approved that Council only in regard to the explication of faith. 733 And Liberatus witnesses all those Canons were constituted while the legates of the Pope were absent nevertheless they otherwise governed the Council. 734 Next, custom, which is the interpreter of Laws, obviously teaches that it was never lawful to appeal to the Patriarch of Constantinople, unless one was from those places subject to the same Patriarch. There is no example that can be proffered in which we might understand from the West, or the South, or even the North appeals were made to the Eastern Church.

Thirdly, even if we were to concede that from the whole world one could have recourse to the judgment of the Bishop of Constantinople according to these Canons, still it would not follow that he were equal with the Bishop of Rome. For from the force of that Canon of Chalcedon, the Bishop of Constantinople can only judge those who believe they have been wounded by their Metropolitan: but the Pope of Rome can judge even those who are wounded by Patriarchs, or by a Council of bishops, whichever example you like shows this is especially and frequently the case, specifically those of Athanasius, Paul, Chrysostom, Flavian and Theodoret.

Lastly, add the fact that this Canon of Chalcedon is not on appeal, but on the first judgment, something that Nilus does not notice. Therefore, even if the Bishop of Constantinople could judge any case you like from the whole world nevertheless appeal could be made from him to the Bishop of Rome, according to the Canons of the Council of Sardica. Nor could the Canons of Chalcedon be opposed in any way to those of Sardica, thus as always, the last judgment remains in the power of the Bishop of Rome.

Chapter XXIII: The First Argument of the Lutherans is Answered

Now we come to the arguments of the Lutherans. Our adversaries firstly object that St. Cyprian teaches: “For since it was established for all of us, and it should be right and equally just, that every case whatsoever should be heard in that place where the crime was carried out, etc.; it is indeed fitting that they, whom we are in charge of, should not go around us, etc.,” 735 and further on: “Except if the authority of the bishops constituted in Africa should seem less than a few desperate and lost men, etc.” Where he condemns those who appealed to the Roman Pontiff, and he tries to show that appeal ought not be made both because it had been established in a Council of bishops, and because the authority of the bishops of Africa is no less than that of the Romans.

I respond: The appeals did not sit well with Cyprian, of those men who were manifestly judged and convicted of crimes; but he did not altogether abolish appeals. That is gathered from another epistle, where, speaking about Basilides, who was condemned in Spain but appealed to Pope Stephen, it says: ‘Nor indeed must the former (Stephen) be blamed, who indifferently received his surprise visit, but rather the latter (Basilides) be detested, who deceitfully dropped in on him.” 736 But certainly, if it was not lawful for Stephen to admit appeals in any way, certainly he would have been exceedingly blamed, because he did not reject the appeal, even if Basilides would have had a just case.

Therefore, to that which Cyprian says was constituted by all, “that the case should be heard in that place where the crime was carried out” I say it is constituted by this decree that the case should be judged first where the crime was carried out, still it is not forbidden that it might be judged again in another place.

But you will say: Still, Cyprian proves from this decree that appeal ought not be made, therefore, appeals were forbidden. I respond: Cyprian does not argue from this decree alone, but from this decree concerning the circumstances of the manifest crimes of the guilty. Thus, Cyprian reasons, the case of anyone whatsoever ought to be heard, from the decree of a Council in that place, where the crime was carried out, the case of these now being heard, and manifestly their crimes were detected. Therefore, why appeal to Rome, except that by chance they might impose upon the Pope, or at least annoy the bishops who had judged concerning them?

Add that, if by this decree it was meant to forbid all appeals, not only would it be forbidden to appeal to the Roman Pontiff, but also to any other judge; and that is the very thing the Centuriators affirm. 737 They try to make these words general, but it would be a most absurd and ridiculous law, which would forbid all appeal. Furthermore, in what inept state of this sort was a law ever tolerated, which did not permit appeal to any judge? Therefore, the Centuriators, when they grant this law to the Church of God, which is arranged as the wisest state, show themselves altogether ridiculous and absurd.

Now, to that point which Cyprian adds, that the authority of the bishops of Africa is no less, I respond that *no less* does not refer to a comparison to the Roman Pontiffs, but to the case on wherein it was treated. The sense is that the bishops of Africa were not of a lesser authority than sufficed to judge that case.

Chapter XXIV: Another Three Arguments are Answered

Secondly, they [The Lutherans] object that Pope Damasus, who in a letter to Theophilus and Anysius, which is 79 among the epistles of Ambrose, says 'When there was a judgment of this sort of the Council of Capua, as of the border with Bonoso, and also the judges voted for his accusers, we turn away because the form of judgment cannot be relevant for us."

I respond: Firstly, that epistle is not of Damasus. In the works of Ambrose it is attributed to Ambrose, but it cannot be his, since in it mention is made of Ambrose just as he was someone else. Therefore, its authorship is uncertain. Secondly, I say if it were a letter of Damasus, as many would have it, Damasus does not say he cannot judge, but that *it is not fitting* that he should judge which was said rightly. Although the Pope is the Supreme Judge, nevertheless it is not fitting that when a provincial council established something, he should judge otherwise without reason.

Thirdly, Calvin objects [738] that the Council of Miletus, in Canon 22, states thus: "What if by them (that is neighboring bishops), they reckoned to challenge? Let them not challenge, except to the African Councils, or to the primates of their provinces. Moreover, one who crosses the sea, because he thinks it must be appealed; let him be received in communion by no one within Africa."

Some respond with Gratian, [739] that he added to this canon the exception unless by chance he should appeal to the Apostolic See. But this exception does not seem to square; for especially on account of the Roman Church, the Africans had established that it was not lawful to appeal beyond the sea. Therefore, it was never the custom to appeal beyond the sea from Africa except to the Roman See. Nor is it fitting to take refuge in these narrow exceptions, since the real answer is at hand.

Therefore, the response is that this Canon is not in regard to a summons. For the question on appeals to the Roman Pontiff, it is not on appeals of priests and lesser Clerics, but on the appeals of bishops. Accordingly, the Council of Sardica, which would have it that bishops can appeal to the Pontiff in Canons 4 and 7, would also have it that the cases of priests and lesser clerics be settled by neighboring bishops, so that it would be lawful for minor clerics to appeal from their bishop to other bishops of the same province, as Canon 17 has it. Pope

Zozimus willed to renew those two canons, and commanded their execution in Africa, as is clear from the Sixth Council of Carthage, and from the letter of the same Council to Pope Boniface.

Hence, this Canon 22 of the Council of Miletus, speaks on Priests and esser Clerics, not on bishops, as is clear from Augustine, who was present a his Council, and still writes that it was lawful for African Bishops to appeal beyond the sea, but not for lesser Clerics: 740 and from the words of the Council itself, it begins thus: "It was pleased that Priests, Deacons or other ower Clerics in cases, which they had, etc." For this reason, Pope Innocent I approved the whole Council of Miletus in his epistle to the Council, which is 93 among the epistles of St. Augustine. But certainly Innocent would not have done it, if there was something that derogated from the Apostolic See. Hence the ignorance and poor scholarship of Calvin appears, who says on the citation we noted, that Zozimus tried to cause it to be, that this canon of Miletus would be corrected in the VI Council of Carthage. Yet it is certain on the other hand that Zozimus commanded that the Canon should be confirmed, and rendered back to practice.

But you will say: If that is so, by what law did the Roman Pontiffs receive the appeals of the Priests of Apia from Africa, and saw to it to restore his rank as the African Fathers relate in an epistle to Boniface, and in another to Pope Celestine?

I respond: Although it was forbidden for Clergy of a lower order to appeal from the bishops of their province, still it was not forbidden, nor could it be forbidden for the Supreme Pontiff, that he could not admit them if he wished. Besides, the Roman Pontiffs did not admit the appeal of the Apian priests, as much as listen to their complaints, and commanded the Africans that they should diligently examine their case, and faithfully judge it. Thus it appears from these two epistles, that the priests of Apia twice came to Rome, and each time in turn were sent back into Africa, and there it was judged after they returned from the city.

Fourthly, Calvin objects using the Epistle of St. Augustine, where we read the case of Caecilianus was judged by the Pope, and certain others by the command of the Emperor, and thereafter again, judged a second time by the Bishop of Arles at the command of the same Emperor, and thirdly judged by the Emperor. But if the Pontiff is supreme judge by Divine law, why does he not judge himself instead of at the command of the Emperor? Likewise, if there can be no appeal from him, how was there an appeal in the case of Caecilianus

and a judgment after the judgment of the Pontiff from the Bishop of Arles, and again by the Emperor? Then, why did he suffer colleagues to be joined with him by the Emperor in the first judgment? 741

I respond to the first point: the Pope did not judge, except when the Emperor enjoined it upon him, because the case of the Donatists was not brought to the Pontiff first, as it ought to have been, but to the Emperor. In this they acted wrongly, as St. Augustine teaches in the same work where he also says Constantine the Emperor by far acted in a more orderly manner, since he did not dare to judge what was brought to him, but sent it to the Pontiff. To the second point, I say the Pope permitted himself to sit with others assigned by the Emperor, that he might satisfy the Donatists, by whom the Roman Pontiff was suspect. Now I say to the third, after the Pontiff judged the Bishop of Arles, and afterward the Emperor did so, not because it was fitting, as Augustine says in the same place, but that the mouth of the Donatists should be altogether shut up. Therefore, the Emperor, as Augustine says in the same place, was going to aim at forgiveness from the bishops, and became acquainted with the case unwillingly.

Chapter XXV: The Last Argument on the VI Council of Carthage is Answered

Lastly, Calvin, 742 the Centuriators, 743 and even the Greeks at the Council of Florence, 744 but above all Illyricus, 745 bring forth an argument that they believe is very strong from the history of the Sixth Council of Carthage, and this is the summary of the affair.

Pope Zozimus sought from the Africans through legates, that they would command the execution of three Canons from the Council of Nicaea. One, was on the appeals of bishops to the Roman Pontiff; the second, on appeals of Priests and lesser clerics to neighboring bishops, the third, on not going to the constable, that is, lest the bishops of Africa might go to the hall of the Emperor.

After the Africans received these commands, they gathered a national Council of 217 bishops, and meanwhile, with Zozimus dead, Pope Boniface had succeeded him, and the Africans responded that they did not discover those Canons in the Council of Nicaea, and on that account, wrote to the Patriarchs of the East, at Constantinople and Alexandria, so that the latter would send to them authentic examples of the Council of Nicaea. In the meantime, they were going to preserve those Canons save for more due diligence in the inspection of the authentic copies. Then, copies of the Council of Nicaea came from Cyril of Alexandria and Atticus of Constantinople, and in those these three Canons were not discovered, rather only those twenty which are contained in the history of Ruffinus, 746 which Cyril also cites in his epistle to the Africans.

Therefore, since the Africans did not discover those particular canons in the copies sent to them, they wrote to Pope Celestine, who had succeeded Boniface, seeing that those canons were not discovered, that thereafter they would not easily admit appeals from Africa. This is contained in the Sixth Council of Carthage, and in those two epistles. What the Pope might have said as a response is not contained there.

Now, Illyricus and the Centuriators have heaped up over this history an immense pile of abuse, lies and besides that two arguments. In regard to abuse Illyricus in his book on this history, insolently perverts the names of nearly every Pope involved. St. Innocent he everywhere calls “Nocentium”, St Boniface “Malefacium”, St. Celestine, “Infernalem;” St. Leo, in the manner of some hellish wolf, he merely calls the “roaring lion”. 747

The acts of the Council of Carthage itself will serve to blunt such petulance, as well as the epistles of the same Council to Boniface and Celestine, all of which Illyricus adds honestly to increase the size of his little book. The more scurrilously and rudely Illyricus speaks of these holy Pontiffs the more the African Fathers speak of them with honor and seriousness Besides, see Augustine on the praises of these Popes, as well as Optatus and Prosper of Aquitaine. 748

On the other hand, there are as many lies as there are sentences in this book of Illyricus. I will bring up a few from the many. In the beginning of the book, he says that at the Sixth Council of Carthage, Prosper, Orosius and other characteristic men were present with Augustine. But Prosper and Orosius are not named in the Council, and they could not be present, since they were not in fact Africans and the Council consisted of African Bishops alone.

A little after that, Illyricus relates that, together with Pope Boniface, a man in schism named Eulabius was elected, but Eulabius, who was chosen by a greater part of the clergy and people was of such modesty, that he yielded of his own will, although in other respects he pertained to that Pontificate by law. But Illyricus asserts this without any source, and we can produce against it Anastasius the librarian, who wrote on the life of the same Boniface, that Eulabium was thrown out from the Council of 252 bishops, and unjustly ordained, while Boniface was confirmed by all.

Illyricus says to this, and often repeats, that the Roman Pontiffs demanded from the African Fathers while that jurisdiction be conceded to them in Africa and in all other regions; and when it was deliberated on this affair for a whole five years, at length it was defined by the Council, that no right should be conceded to the Pontiff. But that is not only a lie, because there was no such demand, nor can such a definition be found in that Council, but it is even impudent because it is asserted without any probability. Who would believe that Roman Pontiffs demanded jurisdiction from the Africans in Asia and Europe? Likewise who would believe that the African Fathers labored on this case for a whole five years, when they could respond in one word, that the Popes had no right over outside nations, hence they could not concede it to anyone? Would someone not be laughed to scorn, who sought jurisdiction from the King of France in Spain? And would not the King of Spain seem ridiculous if he placed the matter in deliberation for five years?

Another lie, and it is the chief one repeated a thousand times in the book of Illyricus as well as by the Centuriators, is that Pope Zozimus busied himself in

leception, and against his conscience, falsifying the Council of Nicaea that he night place a yoke upon the Africans by treachery. Concerning such a lie, we will give an answer by argumentation. Therefore, with these having been prefaced, let us proceed to the arguments [of Illyricus].

First, if the Pope is the supreme Judge of the whole Church by divine law why would the Pontiffs strive to confirm their right of appeals, not from divine law, but from the Council of Nicaea? And why did so many Catholics, and the holy Fathers of the Council of Carthage, refuse to admit this right unless it should be found in the Council of Nicaea?

We respond to this argument briefly: one could always appeal to the Supreme Pontiff by divine law, still, whether it was expedient to use this power even in all places without cause, was in doubt. For on every side reasons can be advanced. Indeed, if everywhere an appeal were conceded by all, it may easily happen that many would flee legitimate judgments, that they might trouble bishops, who had first judged the matter without cause, that cases which are otherwise easy and clear, might drag on for a very long time. And hence what St. Cyprian says in the aforementioned epistles is not once twisted from those who once legitimately judged and condemned, would call upon the Roman Pontiff. Even St. Bernard enumerates many troublesome results which arise from an excessive frequency of appeals. [749]

On the other hand, if appeal were conceded to none, the occasion would be given to particular bishops, that they might easily and boldly judge and tyrannically oppress the people; and still, that they might reckon they had no superior to themselves, and thus need render an account to no one. The result of that would be nothing other than that the one body of the Church should be torn in as many parts as there are Episcopates.

Therefore, when the matter was in doubt, the General Council of Sardica declared that it was expedient that ordinarily priests and other minor Clergy should be conceded an appeal from bishops to a provincial Council, and bishops on the other hand, to the Apostolic See. This declaration was not a new concession, for the examples of those who appealed to the Roman Pontiff before the times of the Council of Sardica and Nicaea witness.

It is for that reason that in the Council of Carthage that the Roman Pontiffs advanced not divine right, but the Council of Nicaea, to stabilize the law of appeals. This was the case, because they wished to prove that not only could all appeal to them, but even that it was expedient for the Church that it should so happen, seeing that a general Council had thought so.

For equal reason, the African Fathers desired to impede appeals of this sort, because they thought it was not expedient for their Church, even though they were not ignorant of the fact, nor did they deny, that they could not absolutely impede appeals. Wherefore, in each epistle which they sent to the Roman Pontiffs on this case, they witness their subjection to the Apostolic See while they relate the acts of the Council, and say they received its commands. Moreover, they do not command, but ask that he not offer his ears too easily to everyone making an appeal. But all these will be more clear in the answer to the second argument.

Thus, the second argument of the Centuriators and Calvin is of this sort. The Roman Pontiffs, Zozimus, Boniface, and Celestine, wished to prove the right of appeals to the Apostolic See from the Council of Nicaea. However after the case was struck down, they were caught falsifying and corrupting the canons of Nicaea, therefore, not even human law, to speak nothing of divine could call upon their judgment.

We respond: First, the African Fathers were deceived by ignorance, while the Centuriators and Calvin sin from malice. For the Africans repeat twice in their epistle to Celestine, that in no definition of the Fathers, and in no Synod did they discover those canons; from which it appears they did not have the canons of the Council of Sardica, in which those three canons are contained with eloquent words, and if they did have them, without a doubt they would have acquiesced. The authority of Sardica is no less than of the Council of Nicaea. 750 And it was not a greater error to cite Nicaea for Sardica, than Matthew for John, or Jeremiah for Zacharia, as St. Matthew does in Chapter XXVII. Therefore, just as we cannot call Matthew a forger, because the same Holy Spirit spoke in Jeremiah and Zachary, so also here. But the Centuriators knew about the Council of Sardica, and just the same conveyed it as legitimate in its account of the fourth century; therefore, it is necessary that they affirm the Africans were deceived, and the case comes to nothing: therefore, not withstanding that they obstinately claim victory with these, they oppose themselves, and sin from malice.

But you might say, in the Sixth Council of Carthage, ch. 6, they cite by name the Council of Sardica, therefore, the Africans were not ignorant of it.

I respond: those words whereby the Council of Sardica is cited are not of the Africans, but of the Papal Legates. They cited these words, from instructions given to them by Pope Zozimus. And besides, I believe, the citation was altogether corrupted, and either placed by Copyists, Sardica for

Nicaea, or what I rather more suspect, taken up from a margin in the text, that 'Ex Sardicensi Concilio." Therefore, the Council of Sardica is placed in the margin because really the words which are cited there are not now discovered except in that Council. But, just the same, the name "Council of Sardica" ought not be in the text. Accordingly, the words that they cited were from the Instructions of Pope Zozimus, which the legates brought from Rome Moreover, these Legates said they cited the Canons from the Council of Nicaea. For which reason, soon after those words were recited, St. Augustine said: "We also profess that we are going to preserve this save for a more diligent inspection of the Council of Nicaea." Whereby he shows that he received the Canon cited just as if it were from Nicaea.

Add, that Augustine did not recognize another Council of Sardica apart from a certain heretical Council of Eastern bishops against St. Athanasius. 751 There were two councils in Sardica, as is clear from the historian Sozomen. 752 One was a general Catholic council of over three hundred bishops, which Augustine never saw; the other was a heretical council of seventy-six bishops which Augustine had seen.

Secondly, I say, the Canons of the Council of Nicaea, which are found in Ruffinus, 753 and which were sent from the East to the Africans, without a doubt did not have all the canons which Nicaea published, and hence it is probable that these three Canons, which Zozimus cited from the Council of Nicaea, really were in that Council. The fact that these might not have been all several prove from the epistle of St. Athanasius to Pope Marcus, in which he begs for a copy of the Council of Nicaea from the library of the Roman Pontiffs, asserting that the copies which were in Alexandria were burned by the Arians.

But this argument is ridiculed by the Centuriators, and truly it is not solid For that burning of books happened in the time of the Emperor Constantius when Athanasius was expelled from Alexandria and a certain Arian named George was ordained in his place, as Athanasius himself witnesses in an epistle to all the Faithful bishops. Moreover, it is certain from the Chronicle of Jerome that Pope Marcus was already dead in that time. Next, if Pope Marcus had sent a copy to the Alexandrians from the Roman treasury, certainly the copies of Rome and Alexandria would have agreed with each other. Therefore, how in the copy sent by St. Cyril of Alexandra to the African Bishops, would these three canons, which were found in the Roman copy, be wanting?

Nevertheless, it can be proven that these canons were not whole, even omitting the epistle of Athanasius. Firstly, because one from the particular Canons of the Council of Nicaea, that Easter should be celebrated on the Lord's day, 754 is not extant among the canons of Ruffinus.

Secondly, St. Ambrose teaches that it was established in the Council of Nicaea, lest anyone married twice be received into the clergy. But this was no discovered among those 20 canons. 755

Thirdly, Jerome asserts in the preface to his commentary on Judith, that the book of Judith was received into the canonical books by the Council of Nicaea But this is not found among the canons of Ruffinus.

Fourthly, Augustine asserts on the designation of a successor, that it was forbidden in the Council of Nicaea, that two bishops should sit together in the same Church, against which he imprudently did, as he sorrowfully relates. 756 But this Canon appears nowhere among those twenty.

Fifthly, in the African Council, the Fathers assert in canon 14 from a canon of Nicaea, that it is not lawful to offer the Eucharist without fasting. But where is this among those twenty canons?

Sixthly, at the end of the Council of Chalcedon, Atticus relates that in the Council of Nicaea, the origin of the format for how epistles were to be written was determined, and Optatus speaks on this, where he says: "With whom (the Roman Pope Siricius) the whole world communicates to us the business of forms in society of communion." 757 Likewise, the Council of Miletus, canon 20, where it forbids clerics to leave unless accompanied with formal letters. But this never appears in those twenty canons of Ruffinus.

Seventhly, Luther, Calvin, the Centuriators and the other heretics everywhere object to us based on a Canon of the Council of Nicaea found in the historian, Socrates, 758 in which they say wives are permitted to priests But this canon is not discovered in those twenty. Therefore, if Zozimus is a corrupter and forger of the canons of Nicaea because he cited in the name of the Council of Nicaea one canon, which is not discovered in those twenty, then by the same token, Constantine, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Jerome Augustine, Atticus, Socrates, the African Fathers, as well as the Centuriators themselves and even Luther and Calvin are corrupters and forgers. For they all cite canons of the Council of Nicaea, which are not found among those twenty.

Lastly, add that in the Council of Florence, sess. 20, a certain learned man named John asserted, that he could show many testimonies of the holy Fathers that at length the Fathers of the Sixth Council of Carthage knew that the canons

of Nicaea were corrupted and false which were sent to them from Alexandria and Constantinople.

Now, in the third place, I say it seems to me very probable, that in the Council of Nicaea these three canons were not expressly present, on which we are treating; rather, these were called Canons of Nicaea by Zozimus and Boniface because they held Nicaea and Sardica for one and the same, the canons of each council were joined in the same place in the Roman library just as if they were of the same Council. The ignorance of this affair disturbed the African Fathers.

The reasons which convince me are these. First, because these Canons are contained in the same words in the Council of Sardica, that the legates of Zozimus allege, and it does not have the appearance of truth that the same Canons were in the Council of Nicaea, and still the Fathers at Sardica do not indicate by any mode that they did not make the canons but renewed them. Therefore, I reckon, that it was implicitly and obscurely decreed in the Council of Nicaea, that one should appeal to the Pontiff, because without a doubt in Canon 6, the Council commands the ancient customs to be preserved, and this one on appeals, as is clear from Pope Leo 759 and from the examples argued above: and also because the same Council commands that once a case has been adjudicated it can be judged again in another place, as is clear from the epistle of Julius that is contained in the second Apology of St. Athanasius, but the Council of Sardica eloquently explained the whole business.

In the Second place, because all the Canons of the Council of Sardica are contained in a translation of the Council of Nicaea made from Greek by Dionysius, a thousand years ago which is extant in the monastery of St. Vedasti Atrebati, where they are contained together just as if they were of the same Council.

In the third place, because, otherwise, a reason can not be given why the Council of Sardia, which is was certainly universal and approved, is not counted among the general Councils. Certainly it ought to be called the Second Council, but it does not add to the number of councils, because it is held for one and the same with Nicaea. Moreover, the reason why the two Councils were joined together, is because the same Fathers for the most part were present in each Council, and nothing new in regard to faith was defined at Sardica rather it only strengthened the faith of Nicaea, since in other Councils new heresies were condemned. Therefore, Zozimus did not cite Nicaea for Sardica by some deceit, but because they were held to be the same. I believe the same

can be said for the letter of Pope Julius I to the Eastern Bishops, Innocent in his epistle to Victricium, and Leo in Epistle 25 to Theodosius: they all cite this canon in the name of the Council of Nicaea. Just the same, the creed of Constantinople is everywhere called "Nicene," because it is an explication of Nicaea, so also the canons of Sardica, the Fathers usually call Nicene, because they are nothing other than an explanation and confirmation of the canons of Nicaea.

I add fourthly, the Fathers at Carthage never stated, that no right was given to the Roman Pontiff in Africa, or that it was not lawful in any way for an African Bishop to appeal to the Roman Church. Nor was there ever such a separation between the Roman Pontiffs and the African Bishops, as Illyricus and Calvin say. For in the first place, a decree of this sort was never extant thereupon, the African Fathers themselves, in a letter to Pope Boniface, and in another to Celestine, very clearly witness their peace and subjection toward the Apostolic See. They write thus to Boniface:

"Because it has pleased the Lord, that on these which our holy brothers have done among us, our fellow-bishop, Faustinus, and our fellow priests Philippus and Psellus, not of happy memory with Bishop Zozimus, from whom they brought to us the commands and letters, but to your veneration, who in his place are divinely constituted, our humility did write, we ought in short order to labor on those which are to determine peace on each side, in which, save for charity, but not without a little bitter labor we tarried." Where, when they refer all things to the Pope, which were done, and they affirm that they received the commands from Pope Zozimus, can it be that they do not openly indicate that they acknowledge him as a Superior? But in an epistle to Celestine: "A due preface to the office of salvation, we ask for the expense; that afterward you would not easily admit those coming to your ears." In such words, they do not absolutely refuse that law on appeals, nor do they say that the Pontiff cannot, if he wishes, admit those making appeals, but they merely ask that he would not easily offer his hears to everyone making an appeal.

St. Augustine clearly preached the primacy of the Roman Pontiff in Africa and the whole Christian world, when he says, from the command of Zozimus he and the other bishops came to Caesar: and when he wrote that the Pelagian heresy was condemned throughout the whole world by Innocent and Zozimus [760] The same Augustine was subject to, and joined to Pope Boniface, as is clear from the beginning of the first of his first book against two epistles of the Pelagians to the same Boniface. He also relates to Pope Celestine the case of a

certain African Bishop, and among other things says: “Work with us in piety, C most venerable blessed Lord, and having received due charity, O most holy Pope, bid for yourself to recite all those things which are right.” 761 And further on: “It arises in the example of the judgment of the Apostolic See itself as well as what has been judged firm of other matters, etc.” And on the other hand, Pope Celestine in a letter to the Gauls, brings out Augustine with wonderful praise, and also says he has always remained in communion with the Roman Church; and that he was always held to be the greatest doctor by him and his predecessors.

Such a union of Augustine with the Roman Church convicts Illyricus of a manifest lie, when he writes that the Roman Pontiffs had been excluded from power in all of Africa, refuted by Augustine and his colleagues as wicked corrupters and forgers.

Not long after that Council of Carthage, St. Leo wrote to the Bishops of the province of Mauritania in Africa, 762 and says that he restored communion to Lupicinus, the Bishop, because he had appealed to him from Africa. Likewise he sent Bishop Potentius as his legate, so that he would discern African affairs in his place. Therefore, either the Council of Carthage did not forbid it, or certainly those Fathers changed their minds.

Again, around sixty years later, St. Eugenius, the bishop of Carthage, when he was compelled by the Arian King, Honoricus, to make a collation on the faith, he wrote to his colleagues across the sea. He could not establish something on the faith without a consensus of other bishops, and especially the Roman Church. Victor of Utica relates the fact. 763 Therefore, the Bishop of Carthage acknowledged the Roman Church to be the Head of all Churches even after the Sixth Council of Carthage, and if of all, certainly also of Africa nor was he separated from the Roman Pontiff, to whom he declared he was going to write.

Not long after, when Thrasimundus, the successor of Honoricus, relegated nearly all the African Bishops, that is 220, into Sardinia, the Roman Pope Symmachus maintained that all of those bishops were members [of the Church] and liberally provided for their expenses; 764 which certainly is not an argument for separation but of communion and unity.

In the same time, St. Fulgentius, was easily the Prince of the African Bishops, although he was most joined to the Roman Church, as is certain from Chapter 12 of his life. For when he wished in Egypt to set out for the solitude of the Monks, he was warned by the Bishop of Syracuse not to do it, or

account of the fact that all these monks were separated from the see of Blessed Peter, with which he was in communion. Therefore, after he left Egypt behind he came to Rome, to see the places of the Saints. The same Fulgentius, as we see from Chapter 29 of his life, faithfully written by his disciple, is assigned to the Church of Carthage, and had been joined to his bishop, from which it happens that the Bishop of Carthage was also joined to the Bishop of Rome, as St. Fulgentius could not lawfully communicate with two communions within himself.

After those times, Blessed Gregory manifestly declared his union with the Bishop of Carthage, and the right of appeal and jurisdiction in all those provinces. 765

Yet Illyricus objects against this from the epistle of Boniface II to Eulabius the bishop of Alexandria as well as the epistle of Eulabius the bishop of Carthage to the same Boniface. From these epistles it is gathered, that after the Sixth Council of Carthage, the Bishops of Carthage were separated from communion with the Roman Church for nearly a hundred years, and then at length reconciled when Eulabius subjected himself to the Apostolic See and anathematized his predecessors.

I respond: First, those epistles are exceedingly suspect. For in the first place, they seem opposed with those things which we said above on the union of Augustine, Eugene, Fulgentius, and other African Bishops with the Roman Church. Next, Eulabius of Alexandria, to whom Boniface seems to have written, did not exist, or at least not at that time, which is clear from the chronology of Nicephorus of Constantinople. Besides, Boniface shows in that epistle that he writes in the time of the emperor Justin; but Justin died before Boniface began to sit, as is certain from all histories. Still, this epistle, which is ascribed to Boniface, is almost certainly made from two fragments, one of which is taken from an epistle of Pope Hormisdas to Bishop John of Constantinople, the other from an epistle of St. Gregory to the Bishops of Gaul which is the 52nd epistle in book four of the registry of Epistles. But St Gregory was not yet born in that time, so it is believable that Gregory took the words from Boniface, although the style is altogether of Gregory.

Moreover, in that epistle, which is attributed to Eulabius of Carthage, a certain Gregorian sentence is inserted, from Book 4, Epistle 36 to Eulogius. And there is nothing of the rest of the epistle, except a fragment of a letter of John, the bishop of Constantinople, to Pope Hormisdas.

Yet, if by chance these epistles might be true (which I can scarcely affirm) without a doubt they must not be received in the sense as if all the predecessors of Eulabius, even back to Aurelius, who presided over the Council of Carthage were separated from communion with the Church of Rome, since that would be opposed to most certain and true history. Rather it would only mean that Aurelius first began to show disdain against the Roman Church, then by his example Eulabius himself, and maybe some others. In other respects Eulabius after the truth was recognized, again subjected himself to the Roman Church. That much alone can be gathered from these epistles, should they be genuine.

Chapter XXVI: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is Proven from the fact that the Supreme Pontiff is Judged by No One

The tenth argument is taken from the fact that the Roman Pontiff can be judged by no man on earth. His rule cannot be more evidently shown than if he should so be shown to be in charge of all, that he is subjected to none. Thus three things must be observed before we shall come to the proof.

Firstly, we do not dispute on this point about the Pontiff, as he is a temporal Prince, since in this mode not even our adversaries deny that he can not be judged in temporal cases, as it is common to absolutely all Princes that they recognize no one superior in temporal business. Therefore, we speak of the Pontiff by reason of the Pontificate alone, and we say that, even if he had no temporal power, he could not be judged in any way on earth by any Christian Prince, whether secular, or Ecclesiastical, nor even gathered together in a Council.

Secondly, it must be observed, there were two errors on this matter. One is of those who taught the Pontiff can be judged by the Emperor, punished deposed, if he would not exercise his office rightly. A certain Marsilius of Padua 766 taught this, as well as Nilus. 767 Nilus differs, however, in that he teaches the Pontiff cannot be judged by a secular Prince, but rather, he contends he can be judged and punished by a Council of bishops. Next Calvin and the rest of the heretics of our time, join both errors together; they subject the Roman Pontiff to a judgment of the Princes as well as of the bishops.

The third thing which must be observed, the especial reason why the Pope cannot be judged, is because he is the Prince of the whole Church, and hence he has no superior on earth. For because he is the Supreme Prince of the Church he cannot be judged by any Ecclesiastical ruler, and again, because the Ecclesiastical Commonwealth is spiritual, and hence greater and more sublime than a temporal commonwealth. On that account, the Supreme Prince of the Church can direct and judge a Supreme Prince of a temporal Commonwealth but not be directed or judged by him, otherwise right order and the very nature of the things would be perverted. I say this is the primary reasoning and, as the Scholastics say, *a priori*: still, because this reason assumes the fact that in the

whole disputation we strive to prove that the Roman Pontiff is the Prince of the whole Church, and for this reason, even while omitting similar reasons, from the testimony of Councils, Popes, Emperors and Doctors of the Church we will show that the Bishop of Rome cannot be judged: that from there we might confirm our primary thesis, which is, the Roman Pontiff is the Head and Prince of the universal Church.

Therefore, it is proved firstly from Councils. At the Council of Sinvessanus, the Fathers said: “The First see will be judged by no man.” These words are related from that Council by Pope Nicholas in his epistle to the Emperor Michael. Likewise in the Roman Council under Sylvester, 280 bishops were present, and the last canon reads: “The First See will be judged not by the Emperor, nor by Kings, nor by any of the Clergy or people.” 768 Likewise, in the Roman Synod under Sixtus III, Chapter 5, we read it was said ‘It is not lawful to give sentence against the Pontiff.” And Sixtus, who was accused, responded: “Although in my reckoning I may be a judge, whether or not I might judge, still the truth should not be hidden.”

When Dioscorus, the Bishop of Alexandria, at the Council of Ephesus dared to judge and condemn Pope Leo I, the Catholic Church so shuddered at his deed that the Council of Chalcedon, in an epistle to the Emperors Martianus and Valentinian, and in a second to Leo himself, which is contained in Act 3 fo the same Council, it wrote that it condemned Dioscorus for many reasons, but above all, because he had presumed to impose judgment on the First See. Moreover, in the Second Council of Constantinople, under Symmachus, a book by Ennodius the Deacon was received, in which among other things had been written, “God willed the cases of men to be settled through men, but the bishop of this See, without question, reserves his own judgment.”

The Roman Council under Pope Adrian II, whose words are related in the 8th Synod, Act 7: “We read that the Roman Pontiff has judged the Prelates of every Church, but that anyone has judged him, we do not read.” Such rightly must be understood on legitimate judgment. And the Eighth Council itself asserted, it is not lawful for any earthly Prince to judge Patriarchs, and above all, the Patriarch of Rome. Thereupon, in the Council of Milevitanus, Canon 19, Clergy were grievously punished, who wished to be judged by the Emperor. Therefore, if the Emperor could not judge Clerics, how much less the Pontiff?

Secondly, it is proved from the testimonies of Popes. Gelasius, in an epistle to Anastasius the Emperor says: “There are two, O August Emperor, by whom

his world is principally ruled: the sacred authority of the Pontiffs, and roya power. Wherein the weight of Priests is so much more grave than even fo Kings themselves, when they go to render an account before divine examination. Know, therefore, that you depend upon their judgment; not tha hey can be reduced to your will." St. Gregory says: "If blessed Peter were to be censured at some time by the faithful, he would have attended to the authority which he had received over the holy Church; he could respond tha he sheep would not dare to rebuke the shepherd." Nicholas I, in an epistle to Michael: "Enough is evidently shown that the Pontiff can neither be bound no oosed by the secular power, that is, neither condemned nor absolved." nnocent III in an epistle to the Emperor, which is contained *ca. Solitae*, tit. De najoritate, avowedly teaches this same thing. He also says it in *serm. 2 de consecrat. Pontif.* Boniface VIII acted in like manner in passing in his bull *Unam Sanctam*. John XXII, again in passing, in his document *licet juxta doctrinam Apostoli*.

Thirdly, it is proved from the confession of Emperors. For Ruffinus writes about Constantine, 769 that he refused to judge bishops, but said he would rather that he was judged by the bishops. The Emperor Basil made a simila confession in a speech, which he held at the end of the Eighth Synod, and among all the remaining laity, in rank of whom he had placed himself a head of, lest judges might wish to judge or command their own pastors. Thereafter Nicholas, in the aforementioned epistle to the Emperor Michael, after bringing many testimonies, proves that pious Emperors never commanded Pontiffs rather, they merely entreated them as Fathers, if they wished something to be done by them.

Lastly, a few testimonies of the holy Doctors. Ambrose, in his oration on he handing over of the Basilicas, says: "A good Emperor is under the Church not above it." Certainly, if it is not above the Church; how much less above the Father and Pastor of the Church.

Gregory Nazianzen, in an oration whereby he excuses himself because a length he had abstained from his Ecclesiastical function: "You sheep, do not pasture the shepherds, nor elevate yourselves above their limits. It is enough for you, if you are rightly pastured, do not judge the judges, nor impose laws upon he legislators." And lest you think that Emperors are excepted by Gregory listen to what the same Doctor says in his oration to the citizens overpowered with fear, and the angry Prince; he addresses the Emperor this way: "Why do you not take up a free voice? Even because the law of Christ subjects you to

ny power, and my tribunal? Let us command him, I add, by both a greater and more perfect imperium. Receive a freer voice, I know you are a sheep of my flock, etc."

St. Bernard, in a letter to the Emperor Konrad, says: "Every soul should be subjected to the law by a more sublime power. How I desire you to guard the judgment in showing reverence to the Vicar of Peter, just as I command you to preserve the very thing of countenance from the whole world." Boniface the martyr, is quoted by Gratian 770 speaking on the Roman Pontiff, saying: "He who is going to judge all must be judged by nobody." Lastly, Hugh of St. Victor says: "Spiritual power judges the earth, but the very thing was established first by God, and when it deviates, can be judged by God alone." 771

Chapter XXVII: The Arguments of Nilus are Answered

Now it remains, that we answer arguments. The first is of Nilus; then o Calvin, lastly, that which John de Turrecremata and others bring from the olde heretics.

But before we propose the arguments of Nilus, we sense the reader must be advised, lest he would put any trust in the translation of Illyricus. For in othe places, and especially in this chapter, he does not only distort the words o Nilus once. Let the beginning of this citation be an example: Nilus has: o`ti. de pa,ntaj avnacri,nwn avuto.j u`pV ou=de,noj avnacri,netai(tou/to kai. feu/doj oi/j tw/n avposo,lwn hvqesin tou/ sumbai,nei) This is: “The claim, moreover judging all things, he is judged by none,’ is also false, and does not agree with the custom of the Apostles.” Now, Illyricus renders it thus: “What our adversaries babble about, that the Pope judges all, and hence is judged by no one, is full of vanity and lies, and is not in accord with a great many just and modest canons of the Apostles.”

But certainly, “they babble” [*blaterunt*] is not in the Greek and what Nilus simply says is false, Illyricus for his own eloquence says: “In a word, is full o vanity and lies.” Next, for *customs of the Apostles*, our faithful interprete renders: “just and modest Canons of the Apostles.” He failed to notice that he opposed that with the following words. For Nilus tries to prove what he says not by Canons, but by reviewing the deeds of the Apostles.

Now with this being omitted, let us see the reasons of Nilus. He says ‘Firstly, if Paul confers his doctrine with the Apostles, and Peter patiently bore to be rebuked bitterly by Paul, by what law would the Roman Pontiff have it to render an account on his deeds and life to no mortal?”

I respond: The example of Paul actually argues for our side; accordingly he runs to Peter, and confers the Gospel with him, because he recognizes Pete is greater than himself, and he would give the example to posterity that they should run to the See of Peter in matters of this sort. Jerome marks this on our side in his epistle to Augustine, 772 and Theodoret from the Greeks in his epistle to Nero. Hence, Peter suffered to be rebuked by Paul, because that was not a judicial censure, but fraternal correction. For, as St. Augustine teaches, as

well as St. Gregory, Paul did not rebuke Peter, as superiors judge inferiors from authority; but the way inferiors correct their superiors from charity.

The second objection: Pope Honorius was not only judged in the Sixth Council, but even condemned.

I Respond: On Honorius we will treat more profusely in another place when we come to the question of whether the Pope could be a heretic Meanwhile, we respond; Honorius was judged and also condemned in a case of faith; (that is, if what was brought against him was in fact true), and we do not deny it, because the Church can judge an heretical Pope. Just the same however, it is consistent with what we said, that the Pope can be judged by no one, and will be clear in the last argument.

Third; There are many broad laws about bishops, not only by the Apostles but even more by Councils, which certainly bind all bishops. Furthermore, the Pope is nothing other than a bishop, for that reason he is held by the laws Hence, he has a superior by which he is judged.

I respond: The Pope is indeed restrained by Ecclesiastical laws, but in regards to direction, not in regards to their restraint, as Jurists usually speak about a Prince. Although both General and Local Councils should speak about bishops universally when they impose laws, still, they ought be understood only concerning those bishops who are subject to the Legislator and that fact can be made plain from particular Councils. Accordingly, these Councils often say: “If any cleric, if some bishop does that, etc.” still it is certain, that none are bound to those laws except for clerics or bishops of that province.

Fourth: The Sixth Council prescribes laws for the Roman Church by name For in the Canon 13, it condemns the Roman Church, because it did not permit a priest, deacon and subdeacon the use of wives, and also it commands that hereafter it should permit it. And Canon 55 condemns the same Roman Church, because in Lent it also fasts on Saturday, and it commands that it no longer be done.

I respond: We have already warned before about the canons falsely ascribed to that sixth Synod, since they were published afterward by a type of Ninth Synod, which the Roman Pontiffs not only did not approve, but even condemned. 773

And rightly these two canons indicate enough of what sort this Synod was For Canon 13 says that it proposes the doctrine of the Apostles and of the Fathers, when it permits to Clerics the cohabitation of wives, which is certainly quite false. For the Second Council of Carthage, by far more ancient and

celebrated than that false Sixth Council, says in Canon 2: “All are pleased, tha bishops, priests and deacons, or those who handle the Sacraments, be guardians of purity, even that they should abstain from their wives, as the Apostles taught and antiquity itself preserved, and we also safeguard.”

Likewise Epiphanius, who was a Greek and a most ancient and approved author, says: “But (the Church) does not receive a man living with one wife and begetting children, rather, he who restrains himself from one wife, or lives in widowhood, as a deacon, priest, bishop and even subdeacon, especially where the Ecclesiastical Canons are genuine. But you will say to me: in some places still, priests, deacons and subdeacons beget children; but this is not according to the Canon, but according to the mind of men, which it has lost its vigor through time.” 774

But Nilus says, the Sixth Synod cites Canon Six of the Apostles, which commands lest Clerics should abandon their wives under the pretext of religion.

I respond: It is commanded by that Canon that Clerics, who have wives should provide for them those things which are necessary to live, not that they should live together with marital relations. Nilus cannot deny such an explanation, both because the very Council in Trullo which he cites explains the same canon in the same way, 775 and also, because otherwise that same Apostolic Canon, whose authority we do not reject, will be opposed to those canons of Trullo. For that Canon of the Apostles not only commands minor clergy, but even bishops, lest they abandon their wives. And still the Canons of the Council in Trullo permit marital relations to minor clergy, but not to bishops. Yet there will be much more on this matter in another place.

As to what he pertains to the Canon on fasting on Saturdays, since the matter is indifferent, and each region can preserve its own custom, as St Jerome and Augustine teach, 776 a Council of Greeks ought not, nor could impose a law upon the Latins in this affair. Add the fact that Pope Innocent I takes our part, in an epistle where he teaches one must fast on Saturday, and also the Greek Epiphanius who in a compendium of doctrine, only excepts Sundays from the fast of Lent.

Next, Canon 65 of the Apostles, forbids fasting on Saturday. I respond: that Canon appears substituted; The Church only receives 50 canons of the Apostles, as Cardinal Humbert testified in his book against Nicetas, and is quoted by Gratian. 777 Thereupon, if the Apostles truly commanded it, they certainly commanded it in hatred of heretics, who fasted on Saturday, lest they

would appear to honor the creator, who rested on the seventh day. Therefore after that heresy was long extinct, it would then have been lawful on Saturday not only lawful, but even pious, on account of the memory of the Lord's burial and so as to recede much further from Judaism.

Fifthly, Nilus objects against this answer in two ways. First, because although these canons may not be legitimate, still reason itself manifestly teaches that the Pope can be judged. All bishops, as bishops, are equal, as is clear from Dionysius, who says, all are of the same order and dignity, yet the Pope is nothing more than a bishop; that is certain both from the fact that he is ordained by bishops, and from the fact that Dionysius acknowledged no dignity in Ecclesiastical Hierarchy greater than the Episcopal dignity: therefore, the Pope is held no less to the laws of the Councils, and can be judged, as the other bishops.

Secondly, he argues, because those Canons are legitimate and of a universal Council is proven in many ways: First, because the Synod which made these canons is the Sixth Synod itself restored. The same Fathers, who gathered from the beginning to explain the faith, are the same gathered afterwards to fashion the Canons. Secondly, because a legate of the Roman Pope was not lacking in this Synod. Accordingly Gortynae the Bishop in Crete held the place of the Roman Pontiff, as can be seen from the history of Basil Thirdly; because the Council, which fashioned these Canons, is itself called a universal Council, nor is it believable that so many Fathers would wish to lie Fourthly, because the Seventh Council, Canon 1, receives the Canons of the six universal Synods, but the Sixth Council does not have other canons than those Fifthly, because Pope Adrian, in an epistle to Tharasius, praises him with admiration, because he constantly observed these decrees together with his own, and namely cited Canon 82 [of the Council in Trullo]. Ergo, it follows that these canons were confirmed even by the Roman Pontiff himself.

I respond: That first argument on the equality of bishops proves entirely nothing. For the bishops are equal by reason of rank, as Dionysius says, but not by reason of jurisdiction. Accordingly even Nilus himself in this book affirms that the Bishop of Constantinople by far is no greater than the Bishop of Caesarea, and others who are subject to the See of Constantinople. Hence, the Supreme Pontiff therefore, cannot be judged, not because he should have greater dignity or ordination than the Episcopal rank; but because he has a fuller Episcopal jurisdiction, so that he is in charge of all, and subject to none.

Moreover, the Canons of the Council in Trullo were not legitimate, and these arguments correctly prove the case.

To the first I respond: This Synod cannot be called the "restored Sixth Council." For the presidents of the Council were not the same, it was not the same Emperor, and it was not the same number of bishops. For in the Sixth truly universal Council, the Emperor Constantius was present, likewise, the legates of Pope Agatho, and 289 bishops, as we have it in the Seventh Council in the third action. Yet at the time of this pseudo-sixth Council, Pope Agatho was already dead as well as the Emperor Constantius, and there were only 228 bishops.

Besides, from the beginning of the pseudo-sixth Council, they themselves said they restored the Fifth and Sixth Synod in a certain manner. Thus Theodore Balsamon called it not the Sixth, but the Quin-Sixth Council. But how can this be called a Council, or the Fifth believed to be restored, when no one from the Fifth Council was present? Accordingly, between the Fifth and "Quin-Sixth" Council, *more than 130 years passed*. Thereupon, to what end did the fifth and sixth Synod need to be restored, and not preferably a new Council called? Because, they said, they did not make canons. But they wished to make them. They were not convoked to make canons, but explain the faith.

To the second argument I respond: Whoever that Bishop Gortyae was, and whoever gave him the place of the Roman Pope in that Synod, Nilus saw because he does not express his name and he brings up an altogether unheard of history, as I do not know which Basil. At length, I say it does not lack suspicion of falsity. But whatever the case on this, it is certain to us, that this Synod was condemned as wayward by Pope Sergius, who then sat; and as Bede and many others witness. 778

This Synod is the one which Sergius condemned, the one which fashioned the Canons, as is clear from Tharasius and Epiphanius, which in the Seventh Synod, Act. 4 and 6, speak. Five years after the Sixth Synod again, the Fathers came together and fashioned these Canons: hence in that time it is certain Sergius sat at Rome. Nor does the memory of any other Council celebrated in that time exist; on which matter we will argue more profusely in book 1 *On Councils*.

Besides, Anastasius the Librarian, in his preface to a book on the Eighth Synod, writes that these canons are not contained either with the Roman Pontiffs, or with any Patriarchs, except that of Constantinople. From which he rightly concludes that this Council was compelled neither by the authority of

he Supreme Pontiff, nor of the other Patriarchs. Thus, Cardinal Humbert, a egate of Pope Leo IX, in a book against the Greeks, not only says that these same Canons were not received by the Apostolic See, but even calls them nonsense.

To the third argument, I respond: It is not to be wondered at too much, if hese Fathers ascribed an invented title for themselves, when they call it a niversal Council. They knew it could not prescribe laws under the color of the Roman Church, unless they would like to make it a universal Synod Thereupon, when in Canon 2 they received the Synod held under Cyprian which was judged as clearly erroneous by the universal Church, and in Canon 19 they openly lie about the use of wives for Priests from Apostolic custom was permitted, and they have many other manifest lies, what a wonder, if they would lie even in the title?

I respond to the fourth: when the Canons of the Six universal Councils were received in the Seventh Council, by the name of canons were not only understood the Canons on morals, but all Canons, whether they were decreed on customs, or on faith. For every Synod made Canons for this reason. On customs, however, or on the Ecclesiastical discipline, only the Council of Nicaea properly made any. For the Second and Fourth Canons published certain things, but they were not approved by the Apostolic See, as is certain from the Council of Chalcedon, act. 16. Hence these are not properly called canons of he general Councils. Moreover the Third, Fifth and Sixth Council published no canons on customs.

To the Fifth point, I respond: Tharasius was commended by Adrian because he had seen him safeguard right faith, according to the decrees of the six general Councils; the fact that these Canons of the Quin-Sext Synod are contained in the Epistle of Adrian, recited from the epistle of Tharasius, and each is not refuted in its place by Adrian, because it was not an opportune time for doing so; still, he did not immediately approve them. But the fact that Adrian did, and after him, Nicholas, in an epistle to the Emperor Michael, after he wished to cite certain parts from these Canons, he learned from the Apostle even to use the testimonies of the Heathen, when it was fitting.

Sixthly, and lastly, Nilus objects that it is intolerable, the fact that the Pope of Rome refused to be subject to the canons of the holy fathers, since he had his dignity from the Fathers, and he also published many Canons, and at length was unworthy, that he should be honored as Father, since he condemned so many holy Fathers.

I respond: these reasons themselves prove that the Pope cannot be subjected to Canons, for he did not have his dignity from the Fathers, but from Christ, as we proved above. Hence he ought to be subject to Christ, not the Fathers. Next, when he may make Canons, it is a sign, that he is the Prince and Legislator: A Prince, however, cannot be obliged to his own laws, since he would not be superior to himself, and laws are only imposed upon inferiors by a superior. Then, if all honor him as Father, he does not have any Fathers in the Church, rather they are all sons. Why is it a marvel if a Father is not subjected to sons, but sons to the Father? Add that, the Pope neither condemned the Fathers nor their canons, although he could not be compelled by them.

Chapter XXVIII: The Objections of Calvin are Answered

Now Calvin, on the other hand, when he condemns what we have said, tha he Pope is judged by no one, in turn proposes no argument, 779 which would e proper for this place; rather he merely says it can be gathered frm Councils istories and many writings of the Fathers wherein the Roman Pontiffs are ompelled into regulation. At the same time, still nothing pleases him more to luck from such copious testimonies.

Moreover, he asserts that on the name of Supreme Priest and universa Bishop, it pertains to following the head. In another place, 780 he produces everal citations of St. Gregory, who, although he was a Roman Bishop, still he ecognized the Emperor as his Lord. For in an epistle, 781 he calls the Emperor is most Serene Lord, and calls himself his most unworthy servant Furthermore, in the same letter, he even confesses the obedience that he aturally owes. Likewise in another epistle, he says: “Our Lord more quickly leemed the priests unworthy, not from earthly power, but by a consideration of xcellence on account of it, whose servants they are, it is so lorded over them hat it even expends true reverence.” 782 In such a place Gregory speaks of imself, and numbers himself among those, over whom he affirms the Emperor as dominion. Likewise in another epistle: “Having trusted in almighty God he fact that he will grant long life to pious lords, and we will dispose under our hand according to his mercy.” 783

I respond: the fact that St. Gregory names himself the servant of the Emperor ought not to appear a marvel. For, as John the Deacon writes, he alled all priests brothers, all clergy sons, all laity his lords. 784 Still, it is not ight to gather from there that Gregory could be judged by all the laity. The fact ttains to obedience and subjection, wherein by humility he said he was the ervant of the Emperor, from the same, he requests just as commands, and he eceived commands. Nor did he hesitate to use the common manner of peaking, that we might say we obey when we do what the other desires lthough he did not command, nor maybe could command.

Add, that Gregory spoke so humbly with the Emperor not without reason ecause in that time the Emperor obtained temporal dominion over the city of Rome, and Gregory very much required his help and friendship, so that both he nd the temporal goods of his Church, and the Roman people would be

defended from the swords and fury of the Lombards. In point of fact, the Emperor, who was far away, used the works of Gregory much even in the administration of the temporal affairs of the state, and certainly on those affairs which Gregory did in the name of the Emperor, he was held to account to the same Emperor.

Nevertheless, should we compare absolutely person with person, the Emperor of the sheep, the Pontiff as shepherd, that the Pontiff judges the Emperor, not that the Pontiff ought to be judged by the Emperor. That can be clearly gathered from the fact that pious Pontiffs often judged pious Emperors Fabian did Phillipas, Ambrose did Theodosius, Innocent did Arcadius, but pious Emperors have never judged pious Pontiffs, nor is it read they commanded the same, which Pope Nicholas proves in a letter to the Emperor Michael with many testimonies. Nor was Gregory either ignorant or silent; for in that epistle 31 of Book 4 of the Registry of Epistles, which Calvin cites although he says he is the servant of the Emperor; still he adds that the emperor ought to show the reverence which is due to the priests, because certainly he is inferior to them, not superior. The Example of Constantine offers the same whom the bishops that were present begged to judge, and he did not dare to do so. Such an example certainly Gregory never would have brought forth, if he believed the Pontiff ought to be judged by the Emperor.

Next, in the same place, although Gregory is called simple by the Emperor he was not silent, for a grave injury was made against him by that word: since simple and foolish seem to mean the same thing. But to what extent, I ask would it be an injury, if a Master should call a servant, or a Judge were to call a criminal, simple? Therefore, St. Gregory understood which person ruled the Church, and what reverence was due to himself from the Emperor; even if in the meantime he partly subjected himself from humility, and partly from necessity.

Chapter XXIX: Another Nine Arguments are Answered

Now the arguments follow, which John of Turrecremata and certain other heretics proposed. The first argument says, the Lord Jesus Christ Himself recognized Imperial power over himself, when he said to Pilate: "You would not have power over me unless it were given to you from above." 785 Therefore, how much more should the Roman Pontiff, who himself is called the Vicar of Christ, be subject to the imperial power? It is confirmed by what St Augustine says on this citation from the Gospel, where he openly teaches that Pilate had power over Christ from God, according to what was said by the Apostle, "There is no power except from God." 786 Likewise, St. Bernard agrees, who, in his epistle to Henry, the Bishop of Sens, wrote: "Say, if you dare, to his Prelate that God does not know ordination, since Christ affirmed himself also that he was under the power of the Roman governor, which was of a heavenly order." 787

I respond: Christ, without a doubt, was not subject to any human law, since he was God and the Son of God: rather, from his own will, he subjected himself to the judgment of Pilate on account of us, not by consigning some authority over himself, but by humbly tolerating the power which he had *de facto*, not from law. That fact St. Matthew shows, 788 when asked for the tribute, he taught first that he himself was not bound by it; and thereafter commanded it to be given to avoid scandal.

Now to that citation of John XIX, the response is made in two ways. Firstly, with Sts. Cyril and John Chrysostom on this citation, the Lord does not speak on the power of jurisdiction, but on divine permission, without which sins could not even be done, that should be the sense: You cannot do anything against me, unless God decreed it was permitted, wherein the power is understood even that of Luke XXII; "This is your hour, and the power of darkness."

But you might say: If the Lord spoke on permissions, why does he add right away, "For that reason those who handed me over to you, have the greater sin." Why did God permit Pilate to pass judgment on Christ and not the Jews that they had to hand him over to Pilate, and still they handed him over while God was unwilling, and on that account sinned more?

I respond: It is best to follow the later opinion from the first. Accordingly when the Lord said: “For that reason,” he did not only give the reasoning why he Jews sinned more than Pilate, but even why Pilate himself had sinned although more lightly than the Jews. Therefore, this is the sense of those words ‘Because not by extending justice, but only by the permission of God, you crucify me, for that reason you certainly sin, but still he sins more, who no only while not furnishing justice, but even impelled with hatred handed me to you, and threatened you with their rancor, so that you would crucify me.”

The second exposition is of Augustine and Bernard, who teach, that Christ speaks on the true power of jurisdiction, according to such an opinion, they best join those words with the foregoing: “On that account, they who handed me to you, have the greater sin.” The sense is, “You crucify me, because you fear to offend Caesar, by whom you have your power, and you indeed sin, because you ought to obey God more than men: still the Jews sin more, who handed me to you, because he not out of fear of a higher power, but from hatred and envy crucify me.”

And although the first exposition appears more literal, nevertheless, even his second holds nothing against our position. For Pilate is said to have had power over Christ, and he really held it, not *per se* but *per accidens*. He had power over all Jews *per se*, since they were subjects of the Roman Empire hence the Lord had been offered to him as some one from a number of private Jews: for that reason also, in the very matter as he was so offered, so he had power. Even if Pilate caught sight of the fact that Christ is the Son of God, still he judged him not as the Son of God, but as a private Jew. Just the same, if in his time any clergymen you like, after changing his habit for a secular official should be offered to be judged, the judge could punish him from his authority and be excused from fault, if it were probable that he were ignorant.

The second argument. Paul appealed to Caesar: “I will stand before the tribunal of Caesar, it will be fitting for me to be judged there.” 789 And again ‘I appeal to Caesar.” If Paul recognized Caesar as a judge, certainly Peter did also; for Peter and Paul were equal.

I respond: Firstly, it can be said that Paul appealed to Caesar because he had a judge *de facto*, even if he was not legally so. So John de Turrecremata responds. 790 Secondly, it can be said even better with Albert Pighius, that here is a distinction between princes of the heathen and Christians, for at some time there were princes of the Heathen, but not a Pontiff as their judge; but on

he other hand, he had been subject to them in all civil causes, no less than the 'est of men.

But the Pontiff would not be their judge, clearly, because he is not judge :xcept of the faithful, according to that which is said in 1 Corinthians VI: "Why lo you bring to me to judge concerning these who are outside?" But on the)ther hand that he would be subject civilly to them, both *de facto* and by law is ılso clear. For the Christian law deprives no man of his right and dominion: just ıs, before the Christian law, men were subject to emperors and kings, so also ıfterward. This is why Peter and Paul everywhere exhort the faithful, that they)e subject to princes, as is clear from Scripture. 791 Therefore, Paul appealed ·ightly to Caesar, and acknowledged him as a judge, since he was accused of :xciting sedition and a tumult amongst the people. But when Princes are made Christians, and receive the laws of the Gospel of their own will, immediately hey subject themselves just as sheep to the shepherd, and members to the head)f the Ecclesiastical hierarchy; and hence, he is judged by it, thereupon, they)ught not judge it.

The third argument. Paul says: "Let every soul be subject to higher)owers." 792 1 Peter II: "Be subject to every human creature on account of God, just as to every distinguished king, etc." In such places the sermon is on ;ecular powers, and none are excepted from subjection, not the clergy, nor a)ishop, nor the Pope when it is said: "Every soul should be subject." Nor can he response be made that the Apostles only speak on princes of this world who were Heathen. For the Church, which always repeats the same readings, shows :learly enough that Paul and Peter speak on all princes, who were then and who were going to come.

I respond: Both Peter and Paul speak generally, and exhort all be subject hat they might obey their superiors, whether spiritual or temporal. From such ın opinion it can not be deduced that the Pope is subject to a king, or a king to ı Pope, rather, only that one who is subject owes obedience to his superior.

Because those opinions are general, it can be proved, for Paul says: "Le :very soul be subject to the higher powers." In that place, he does not restric his discourse to the secular power; rather, he speaks on every power. Nor does he example on kings who carry a sword impede our opinion. For Paul would ıave it speak more diligently and expressly on the King, because in that time Christians were accused of sedition, as well as rebellion by their calumniators For that reason he concludes generally in the end: "Render, therefore, to all what is due; to whom tribute, tribute; to one whom honor is due, honor; fear

ear, etc." For equal reason, Peter speaks generally: "Be subject to every humar creature;" that is, to every creature having power. Soon he shall place ar example on a king, and leaders, on account of the same reason as Paul Therefore, St. Bernard, (as we cited above) says: "It is read 'let every soul be subject to the higher powers,' which opinion I desire you to safeguard in showing reverence to the vicar of Peter, just as it is preserved for your countenance throughout the whole world." 793

The fourth argument. In the old law the king judged and deposed a Pontiff for Solomon deposed Abiathar, and constituted Zadok in his place: for equa reasoning in the New Testament, there will be a Christian emperor to judge a Christian pontiff.

I respond: Firstly the similitude cannot be denied, yet, although in the Old Testament there were only temporal promises, and in the New spiritual and eternal ones, as Sts. Jerome and Augustine teach. 794 It would not be a wonder if in the Old Testament the supreme power was temporal, but in the new it is spiritual.

I say secondly, even in the old Testament the Pontiff was greater than the king, as Philo, Theodoret, and Procopius teach; 795 and it is deduced also from ch. 27 of Numbers, where it is said that Joshua the Prince, to the word of the Pontiff Eleazar, as all the people ought to have entered and left; and from Leviticus IV, where four sacrifices are established, from the order of which, and the magnitude the order is gathered, as well as the dignity of persons for whom they were made. First there was the holocausts for the Pontiff. Second, even the holocaust for the whole people. Third of he-goats, that is of a cheaper animal for the king. Fourth of she-goats, for each private matter.

Now to the argument on Solomon, I say he, not as a king but as a Prophe and executor of divine justice deposed Abiathar, after substituting Zadok. For in the same place, it is said that Solomon removed Abiathar, "that the word o the Lord might be fulfilled." 796

The fifth argument. Christian Emperors often judged and deposed Pontiffs For Constantius sent Pope Liberius into exile, Justinian Sylverius, King Theodoric threw John I into prison. Otho I deposed John XII, and substituted Leo VIII in his place. Henry III deposed Gregory VI, and commanded Clement II to be ordained. The histories of those times are full of such things.

I respond: These things certainly happened, but by what law, they themselves see. Certainly Liberius was unjustly sent into exile, as Athanasius witnesses in his epistle treating on the solitary life. Liberatus says the same

hing in his Breviary, ch. 22. St. Gregory writes about John I, 797 and it is certain that Constantius and Theodoric were Arians, while Justinian was a Monophysite. Therefore, it is no more a wonder that the heretical princes would depose Christian Pontiffs by a Tyrannical rule, than that the Heathen emperors everywhere killed the same.

It is certain enough on Otho I, that he was motivated by good zeal, but he did not act according to knowledge when he deposed John XII, for this John was the most degenerate of all Pontiffs. And therefore, it is no wonder, if the pious Emperor, such was Otho I, but less experienced in Ecclesiastical matters judged that he could be deposed, especially since many teachers sensed the same thing. For this reason, Otho of Frisia expresses this history, and modestly evaluates the Emperor: "Whether each did licitly or not, now is not the time to say." 798

On Henry III there is a smaller difficulty, for as it is certain from the same Otho of Frisia, 799 the Emperor Henry did not depose Gregory, rather persuaded him that he should yield, because it appeared he had been elected by simony. In point of fact, he had yielded of his own will and Clement was elected. Besides, add that Leo of Hostia, 800 who flourished at that time gathered a Council of bishops, and the Pontiff was invited by the Emperor that he should preside over the Synod; that whatever case of that Pontiff might be treated, still he was the supreme Judge. Moreover, sorrowful for his faults, he asked forgiveness in earnest, and abdicated from the Pontificate of his own will.

The sixth argument. The Pontiffs affirmed they were in subjection to the Emperors. For Gregory, as quoted by Gratian, says: "If anyone should wish to refute us over these matters, let him come to the Apostolic See, that there he would justly dispute the issue with me before the confession of Blessed Peter insofar as there one of our number there shall receive his opinion." 801 Likewise Pope Hadrian I conceded to Charlemagne the law of electing the Roman Pontiff, and or ordering the Apostolic See, as is contained in dist. 63 Canon *Hadrianus*, and because Leo VIII conceded the same thing again afterward. The same dist. 63, as well as the Canon, are contained in a Synod by Otho I. Likewise Leo IV asked judges from the Emperor Louis, and promised that he was going to obey their judgment, as is contained in the Canon *Nos s ncompetenter*, 2, quest. 7.

I respond: that quote of Gregory is not found in his works. Next, Gregory does not call upon the judgment of men, but of God. He seems to speak on the

elation through the oath and on the expectation of a divine sentence, which is often imposed against perjurers. Hadrian and Leo did not concede to the Emperor except that he would confirm or annul the election of a new Pontiff and should order the Roman Church in regard to its temporal rule. It does not follow from that, that the Emperor had power over the Pontiff. Moreover, those two privileges were conceded to the Emperor on account of the frequency of schisms which occurred then; and on account of the frequent armies of the Lombards and Greeks, who continually disturbed the Roman Church; when all these causes ceased to be an issue, the privileges were recalled. Leo IV subjected himself to a distinguished judgment that was not forced by the Emperor, as is clearly gathered from that very chapter.

The seventh argument. It is lawful for anyone to kill a Pontiff, if he invades any territory unjustly: for that reason, it will be much more lawful for kings or a Council to depose the Pontiff, if he should disturb a commonwealth, or endeavor to slay souls by his example.

I respond: firstly by denying the consequent, because no authority is required to resist an invader and defend oneself, nor is it necessary that the one who is invaded should be a judge and superior of the one who invades; rather authority is required to judge and punish. Therefore, just as it would be lawful to resist a Pontiff invading a body, so it is lawful to resist him invading souls or disturbing a state, and much more if he should endeavor to destroy the Church I say, it is lawful to resist him, by not doing what he commands, and by blocking him, lest he should carry out his will; still, it is not lawful to judge or punish or even depose him, because he is nothing other than a superior. See Cajetan on this matter, 802 and John de Turrecremata. 803

The eighth argument. The Pontiff was truly subjected in the forum of conscience to his confessor just as to a minister of God: why, therefore, could he not be subjected in the exterior forum as well, to some Prince who is also a minister of God?

I respond: the reason for the diversity is, because in the forum of conscience, the confessor is a worthy instrument of God, so that it is rather more God who judges through a man, than the man himself; the fact appears both from the fact that the confessor cannot altogether compel the penitent against his will to undergo punishment, and from the fact that in confession he judges even concerning occult crimes, which pertain to the knowledge of God alone. But in the exterior forum, a man is truly a judge, even as a man, although

ıe may be constituted by God, and for that reason he only judges on manifes
ıffairs, and can altogether compel one to punishment against his will.

The ninth argument. The Pontiff can give a certificate of repudiation of his
›wn will to the Church through Renunciation; 804 therefore, the Church car
ɡive a certificate of its own will to the Pontiff, and elect another in his place.

I respond: firstly, by denying the consequent. For the Pontiff is above the
Church, not the other way around. For which reason even Deuteronomy XXIV
ı man could give a certificate of repudiation to the wife, but that the wife could
ɡive a certificate to her husband is discovered nowhere. Secondly, I say, the
Pontiff cannot renounce the pontificate without the consensus of the Church
805 and hence if the Church *could* give a certificate of repudiation to the
Pontiff, it could not without his consent: when, should he consent, he would
ıbdicate of his own will, he would not be compelled against his will.

Chapter XXX: The Last Argument is Answered, Wherein the Argument is Taken up, Whether a Heretical Pope can be Deposed

The tenth argument. A Pope can be judged and deposed by the Church in he case of heresy; as is clear from Dist. 40, can. *Si Papa*: therefore, the Pontif s subject to human judgment, at least in some case.

I respond: there are five opinions on this matter. The first is of Alber Pighius, who contends that the Pope cannot be a heretic, and hence would no be deposed in any case: 806 such an opinion is probable, and can easily be defended, as we will show in its proper place. Still, because it is not certain and the common opinion is to the contrary, it will be worthwhile to see what the response should be if the Pope could be a heretic.

Thus, the second opinion is that the Pope, in the very instant in which he falls into heresy, even if it is only interior, is outside the Church and deposed by God, for which reason he can be judged by the Church. That is, he is declared deposed by divine law, and deposed *de facto*, if he still refused to yield. This is of John de Turrecremata, 807 but it is not proven to me. For Jurisdiction is certainly given to the Pontiff by God, but with the agreement of men, as is obvious; because this man, who beforehand was not Pope, has from men that he would begin to be Pope, therefore, he is not removed by God unless it is through men. But a secret heretic cannot be judged by men, nor would such wish to relinquish that power by his own will. Add, that the foundation of this opinion is that secret heretics are outside the Church, which is false, and we will amply demonstrate this in our tract *de Ecclesia*, bk 1.

The Third opinion is on another extreme, that the Pope is not and cannot be deposed either by secret or manifest heresy. Turrecremata in the aforementioned citation relates and refutes this opinion, and rightly so, for it is exceedingly improbable. Firstly, because that a heretical Pope can be judged is expressly held in the Canon, *Si Papa*, dist. 40, and with Innocent. 808 And what is more, in the Fourth Council of Constantinople, Act 7, the acts of the Roman Council under Hadrian are recited, and in those it was contained that Pope Honorius appeared to be legally anathematized, because he had been convicted of heresy, the only reason where it is lawful for inferiors to judge superiors. Here the fact must be remarked upon that, although it is probable that

Honorius was not a heretic, and that Pope Hadrian II was deceived by corrupted copies of the Sixth Council, which falsely reckoned Honorius was a heretic, we still cannot deny that Hadrian, with the Roman Council, and the whole Eighth Synod sensed that in the case of heresy, a Roman Pontiff can be judged. Add, that it would be the most miserable condition of the Church, if she should be compelled to recognize a wolf, manifestly prowling, for a shepherd.

The Fourth Opinion is of Cajetan. 809 There, he teaches, that a manifestly heretical Pope is not *ipso facto* deposed; but can and ought to be deposed by the Church. Now in my judgment, such an opinion cannot be defended. For in the first place, that a manifest heretic would be *ipso facto* deposed, is proven from authority and reason. The Authority is of St. Paul, who commands Titus, 810 that after two censures, that is, after he appears manifestly pertinacious, an heretic is to be shunned: and he understands this before excommunication and sentence of a judge. Jerome comments on the same place, saying that other sinners, through a judgment of excommunication are excluded from the Church; heretics, however, leave by themselves and are cut from the body of Christ, but a Pope who remains the Pope cannot be shunned. How will we shun our Head? How will we recede from a member to whom we are joined?

Now in regard to reason this is indeed very certain. A non-Christian cannot in any way be Pope, as Cajetan affirms in the same book, 811 and the reason is because he cannot be the head of that which he is not a member, and he is not a member of the Church who is not a Christian. But a manifest heretic is not a Christian, as St. Cyprian and many other Fathers clearly teach. 812 Therefore, a manifest heretic cannot be Pope.

Cajetan responds in a defense of the aforementioned treatise, chapter 25 and in the treatise itself chapter 22, that a heretic is not a Christian simply; but is relatively. For since two things make a Christian, faith and the character, a heretic loses the virtue of faith, but still retains the character; and for that reason, still adheres in some way to the Church, and has the capacity for jurisdiction: hence, he is still Pope, but must be deposed, because he has been disposed due to heresy; after being disposed at the last, he is not Pope, as such he is a man, and not yet dead, but constituted at the point of death.

But on the contrary, since in the first place, were a heretic to remain joined with the Church in act by reason of the character, he could never be cut off and separated from her, because the character is indelible, yet everyone affirms that some can be cut off from the Church *de facto*: therefore, the character does not make a heretical man exist in the Church in act; rather, it is only a sign that he

was in the Church, and that he ought to be in the Church. Just as the character impressed upon a sheep, when it was in the mountains, does not make it to be in the sheepfold, rather indicates from which fold it fled, and to where it can be driven back again. This is also confirmed by St. Thomas, [813] who says that those who do not have faith are not united to Christ in act, but only in potency and there he speaks on internal union, not external, which is made through the confession of faith, and the visible Sacraments. Therefore, since the character pertains to what is internal and not external, according to St. Thomas, the character alone does not unite a man with Christ in act. Next, either faith is a necessary disposition as one for this purpose, that someone should be Pope, or it is merely that he be a good Pope. If the first, therefore, after that disposition has been abolished through its opposite, which is heresy, and soon after the Pope ceases to be Pope: for the form cannot be preserved without its necessary dispositions. If the second, then a Pope cannot be deposed on account of heresy. On the other hand, in general, he ought to be deposed even on account of ignorance and wickedness, and other dispositions which are necessary to be a good Pope, and besides, Cajetan affirms that the Pope cannot be deposed from a defect of dispositions that are not necessary as one, but merely necessary for one to be a good Pope.

Cajetan responds that faith is a necessary disposition simply, but in part not in total, and hence with faith being absent the Pope still remains Pope, on account of another part of the disposition which is called the character, and that still remains.

But on the other hand, either the total disposition which is the character and faith, is necessary as one unit, or it is not, and a partial disposition suffices. If the first, then without faith, the necessary disposition does not remain any longer as one, because the whole was necessary as one unit and now it is no longer total. If the second, then faith is not required to be good, and hence on account of his defect, a Pope cannot be deposed. Thereupon, those things which have the final disposition to ruin, soon after cease to exist, without another external force, as is clear; therefore, even a heretical Pope, without any disposition ceases to be Pope through himself.

Next, the Holy Fathers teach in unison, that not only are heretics outside the Church, but they even lack all Ecclesiastical jurisdiction and dignity *ipso facto*. Cyprian says: “We say that all heretics and schismatics have not power and right.” [814] He also teaches that heretics returning to the Church must be received as laymen; even if beforehand they were priests or bishops in the

Church. 815 Optatus teaches that heretics and schismatics cannot hold the keys of the kingdom of heaven, nor loose or bind. 816 Ambrose and Augustine teach the same, as does St. Jerome who says: “Bishops who were heretics cannot continue to be so; rather let them be constituted such who were received that were not heretics.” 817

Pope Celestine I, in an epistle to John of Antioch, which is contained in Volume One of the Council of Ephesus, ch. 19, says: “If anyone who was either excommunicated or exiled by Bishop Nestorius, or any that followed him, from such a time as he began to preach such things, whether they be from the dignity of a bishop or clergy, it is manifest that he has endured and endures in our communion, nor do we judge him outside, because he could not remove anyone by a sentence, who himself had already shown that he must be removed.” And in a letter to the clergy of Constantinople: “The Authority of our See has sanctioned, that the bishop, cleric or Christian by simple profession who had been deposed or excommunicated by Nestorius or his followers, after the latter began to preach heresy, shall not be considered deposed or excommunicated. For he who had defected from the faith with such preaching, cannot depose or remove anyone whatsoever.”

Nicholas I confirms and repeats the same thing in his epistle to the Emperor Michael. Next, even St. Thomas teaches that schismatics soon loose all jurisdiction; and if they try to do something from jurisdiction, it is useless. 818

Nor does the response which some make avail, that these Fathers speak according to ancient laws, but now since the decree of the Council of Constance they do not lose jurisdiction, unless excommunicated by name, or if they strike clerics. I say this avails to nothing. For those Fathers, when they say that heretics lose jurisdiction, do not allege any human laws which maybe did not exist then on this matter; rather, they argued from the nature of heresy. Moreover, the Council of Constance does not speak except on the excommunicates, that is, on these who lose jurisdiction through a judgment of the Church. Yet heretics are outside the Church, even before excommunication and deprived of all jurisdiction, for they are condemned by their own judgment as the Apostle teaches to Titus; that is, they are cut from the body of the Church without excommunication, as Jerome expresses it.

Next, what Cajetan says in the second place, that a heretical Pope who is truly Pope can be deposed by the Church, and from its authority seems no less false than the first. For, if the Church deposes a Pope against his will, certainly

t is over the Pope. Yet the same Cajetan defends the opposite in the very same reatise. But he answers; the Church, in the very matter, when it deposes the Pope, does not have authority over the Pope, but only on that union of the person with the pontificate. As the Church can join the pontificate to such a person, and still it is not said on that account to be above the Pontiff; so it can separate the pontificate from such a person in the case of heresy, and still it will not be said to be above the Pope.

On the other hand, from the very fact that the Pope deposes bishops, they deduce that the Pope is above all bishops, and still the Pope deposing a bishop does not destroy the Episcopacy; but only separates it from that person Secondly, for one to be deposed from the pontificate against his will is without a doubt a penalty; therefore, the Church deposing a Pope against his will without a doubt punished him; but to punish is for a superior and a judge Thirdly, because according to Cajetan and the other Thomists, in reality they are the same, the whole and the parts are taken up together. Therefore, he who has so great an authority over the parts taken up together, such that he can also separate them, also has it over the whole, which arises from those parts.

Furthermore, the example of Cajetan does not avail on electors, who have the power of applying the pontificate to a certain person, and still does not have power over the Pope. For while a thing is made, the action is exercised over the matter of the thing that is going to be, not over a composite which does not yet exist, but while a thing is destroyed, the action is exercised over a composite as is certain from natural things. Therefore, when Cardinals create the Pontiff they exercise their authority not over the Pontiff, because he does not yet exist but over the matter, that is, over the person whom they dispose in a certain measure through election, that he might receive the form of the pontificate from God; but if they depose the Pope, they necessarily exercise authority over the composite, that is, over the person provided with pontifical dignity, which is to say, over the Pontiff.

Now the fifth true opinion, is that a Pope who is a manifest heretic, ceases in himself to be Pope and head, just as he ceases in himself to be a Christian and member of the body of the Church: whereby, he can be judged and punished by the Church. This is the opinion of all the ancient Fathers, who teach that manifest heretics soon lose all jurisdiction, and namely St. Cyprian who speaks on Novation, who was a Pope in schism with Cornelius: “He cannot hold the Episcopacy, although he was a bishop first, he fell from the body of his fellow bishops and from the unity of the Church.” 819 There he

neans that Novation, even if he was a true and legitimate Pope; still would have fallen from the pontificate by himself, if he separated himself from the Church.

The same is the opinion of the learned men of our age, as John Driedo eaches, 820 those who are cast out as excommunicates, or leave on their own and oppose the Church are separated from it, namely heretics and schismatics He adds in the same work, 821 that no spiritual power remains in them, who have departed from the Church, over those who are in the Church. Melchior Cano teaches the same thing, when he says that heretics are not part of the Church, nor members, 822 and he adds in the last Chapter, 12th argument, that someone cannot even be informed in thought, that he should be head and Pope who is not a member nor a part, and he teaches the same thing in eloquent words, that secret heretics are still in the Church and are parts and members and that a secretly heretical Pope is still Pope. Others teach the same, whom we cite in Book 1 of *de Ecclesia.*

The foundation of this opinion is that a manifest heretic, is in no way a member of the Church; that is, neither in spirit nor in body, or by internal union nor external. For even wicked Catholics are united and are members, in spirit through faith and in body through the confession of faith, and the participation of the visible Sacraments. Secret heretics are united and are members, but only by an external union: just as on the other hand, good Catechumens are in the Church only by an internal union but not an external one. Manifest heretics by no union, as has been proved.

Chapter XXXI: That the Roman Pontiff Succeeds Peter in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy is Proven From the Names, which Roman Pontiffs are Usually Given

The last argument is taken from the fifteen names of the Bishop of Rome namely: Pope, Father of Fathers, Pontiff of Christians, High Priest, Prince of Priests, Vicar of Christ, Head of the Body of the Church, Foundation of the Building of the Church, Shepherd of the Sheepfold of the Lord, Father and Doctor of all the faithful, Ruler of the House of God, Watchman of the Vineyard of God, Spouse of the Church, Prelate of the Apostolic See, and Universal Bishop. His primacy is obviously gathered from each individual one.

The First and most common, as well as most ancient name of the Bishop of Rome is Pope [*Papa*]. For St. Ignatius, in his epistle to Mary the Proselyte near Zarbus, writes: “Since you are at Rome, with Pope Linus, etc.” Moreover Pope, or pa,ppaj as it is in Greek, is a name which charming or babbling children usually call their fathers; as it appears in Philemon, the comic writer quoted in Athenaeum: “cai/re pa,ppa fi,late,” 823 and in the Odyssey of Homer where a daughter says to her father: “pa,ppa fi,le,” 824 while among the Latins writers the likewise address a father or a grandfather. Juvenal for instance:

Mordeat ante aliquis quidquid porrexerit illa
quae peperit, timidus praegustet pocula Pappas. 825

Ausonius likewise to his Grandson:

Pappos, aviasque trementes
Anteferunt patribus seri nova cura nepotes.

Hence Ecclesiastics began to call their spiritual father by the charming word, “Father.”

This name was given by the Fathers now and then to a bishop; for Jerome in all his epistles to Augustine calls him Pope; just as even now every Priest is called Father. Still, just the same, in three modes, from this name, is the primacy of the Bishop of Rome gathered. Firstly, by its use as a proper name when Papa is absolutely pronounced, he alone is understood; as is clear from

he Council of Chalcedon, Act 16, where we read: “The most Blessed and Apostolic man, the Pope, commands this of us.” Leo is not added, nor Roman or of the city of Rome, or something else. Secondly, because he alone is called Pope of the whole Church, as is clear from the same act of the Council of Chalcedon, where Leo is called Pope of the universal Church, and from Liberatus, 826 where we read that no one is Pope over the Church of the whole world except the Roman Pontiff. Thirdly, from the fact that the Bishop of Rome is called by the whole world, and by General Councils, Father or Pope; but he calls no man Pope or father, rather sons or brothers, as is clear from the epistle to the Second Council, 827 and from the epistle of the Council of Chalcedon to Leo.

The second name is Father of Fathers, which is given to Pope Damasus by Stephen, the Archbishop of Carthage, in his epistle to Damasus which he wrote in the name of three Councils of Africa: “To the most Blessed Lord and lofty Apostolic summit, to the Holy Father of Fathers, Pope Damasus, etc.” Nor do we read any communication to anyone else with this name.

The third is Pontiff of Christians, quoted by Eusebius in his Chronicle for the year 44.

The fourth is Supreme Pontiff, which we read in the same epistle of Stephen of Carthage. It follows: “And to the Supreme Pontiff of all Prelates.’ Even St. Gregory uses the title. 828 St. Jerome, in a preface on the Gospels to Pope Damasus: “You, who are the high priest.” And in the Sixth Council, Act 18, in an acclamatory sermon; the whole Council calls Pope Agatho: “Our most holy Father and Supreme Pope.”

The fifth is Prince of Priests. We read concerning this in an epistle of Valentinian to Theodosius, which is contained before the Council of Chalcedon in Volume 1 of the Councils: “The Most blessed Bishop of the city of Rome, to whom the rule [principatum] of the priesthood all antiquity conferred over all etc.” And with Prosper of Aquitaine: “Rome, on account of the rule of the priesthood, was made greater in the citadel of religion, than in the lap of power.” 829

But Calvin objects, 830 that at the third Council of Carthage it was forbidden, lest anyone be called Prince of Priests or High Priest; rather, only bishop of the first see. 831 I respond: That Council only established on the Bishops of Africa, among whom there were many equal primates, lest any of them would be called High Priest, or Prince of others. Nor could this Provincial Council, or the bishops of any other provinces oblige the Roman Pontiff

Therefore, Gregory, Anselm, Bernard and the Sixth General Council itself, no withstanding that Canon, called the Roman Bishop Supreme Pontiff.

The sixth is Vicar of Christ; St. Bernard 832 uses such a title, as well as the Council of Lyon under Gregory X. 833

The seventh is Head of the Church, which the Council of Chalcedon uses in an epistle to Pope Leo: "Over whom you are in charge of, just as a head over the members," and Act 1 of the same Council, it is said the Roman Church is the head of all Churches.

But Calvin objects, 834 that St. Gregory in a letter to John, the Bishop of Constantinople says: "Peter, the first member of the holy and universal Church Paul, Andrew, James, what else are they than heads of individual peoples? Still all are members under one head of the Church." 835 There Gregory condemned John, who wanted to make himself head of the Church, and he uses this argument: Because neither Peter, nor any other Apostle was head of the whole Church, but only heads of individual Churches, and members of the universal Church.

I respond: That someone is the head of the whole Church can be understood in two ways. In one way, that the head should be such that he alone would be the head and prince, and all the rest of the lower would not be heads but princes, but only of their office. In the second way, that he indeed should be the head, but general, so that he does not abolish particular inferior places, and true heads: for that reason universal cases do not take particulars, and that is why in the army the Emperor does not remove particular generals of legions and cohorts.

And in the first mode, Christ alone is head of all the Churches, accordingly being compared to Christ, all are vicars and administrators, nor can any be said to be his colleagues or fellow-bishops, and Peter in this mode is not the head except of the particular Roman Church. Therefore, only of this Church is there a sole particular bishop and head: the other particular bishops are heads bishops of their provinces, who are true Princes, and of Peter, not of vicar, but of colleague and fellow bishop, and on this meaning St. Gregory treats in this place. In the other way, Peter was and now is the Roman Pontiff, truly the head of every Church, as the same Gregory himself teaches in these words: "The reverence of the Apostolic See will not be disturbed by presumption of any man; then if the head of faith will pulsate without injury, the whole condition of the members will persevere." 836

The eighth is the Foundation. Jerome, in his first epistle to Damasus on the erm *hypostasis*, says: “I know that the Church was built upon this rock.” There ıe calls Damasus the rock of the Church.

The ninth is the Shepherd of the Lord’s Flock: St. Ambrose says to Pope Siricius: “We recognize from the letters of your sanctity, the watch of the good shepherd, how you faithfully preserved the door entrusted to you, and that you guard the flock of Christ with pious care.” 837

The tenth is Ruler of the House of God: Ambrose says in his commentary on 1 Timothy III: “The House of God is the Church, whose Ruler today is Damasus.”

The eleventh is the Watchman of the Vineyard, the Council of Chalcedon wrote in a letter to Pope Leo: “In addition, he extends insanity against him, to whom the care of the vineyard was consigned by the Savior, against your Apostolic sanctity.”

The twelfth is Father and Doctor of all Christians. We so have it in the Council of Florence, in the last session, by the same reasoning the Roman Church is called mother and teacher of all Churches; as we have it in the Lateran Council under Innocent III, ch. 5 .

The thirteenth, is Spouse of the Church. The Pope is thus called in the Council of Lyons. 838

But some object that St. Bernard 839 warns Pope Eugene, lest he should think of himself as the spouse of the Church, rather he should consider himself friend of the spouse and because it would seem absurd, that the Vicar of the king would be called the bridegroom of the queen.

I respond: Just as the Pope is called the Head, Ruler and Shepherd of the Church, in place of Christ, so also is he called the Spouse in place of Christ, or as the Vicar and Minister of Christ. For Christ is the true and principle spouse as it is said in John III, he makes the Church fertile by his spirit, and by his seed alone (which is the word of God) are sons born. Popes are called spouses because they cooperate extrinsically in the generation of sons, just as of a Minister of the Word and of the Sacraments; and they generate sons not unto themselves, but unto Christ. Bernard, therefore, only intended to admonish the Pontiff, lest he would think that he was the Principle Spouse, and although it would be most absurd in the manner of carnal generation, for the king to be assisted by a Vicar, and one spouse to be of many: still in the spiritual order it is not absurd.

The fourteenth is Prelate of the Apostolic See. First it must be observed hat not only was Rome called the Apostolic See by the ancients, but also Antioch, Jerusalem, Ephesus, and others which the Apostles founded, and in which they sat just as bishops. This is clear from Tertulian and St. Augustine 840

But the Roman Pontiff excels over those three in regards to this name Firstly, because when it is purely said: "Apostolic See," and the name of Antioch, Ephesus or Rome is not added, it is always understood as Rome which is called apostolic through an epithet. St. Augustine shows this when he says: "They were sent relating on this matter from the two Councils of Carthage and Miletus to the Apostolic See." 841 He did not add Rome, and still he would have it so understood, that certainly, they were sent relating those affairs to Pope Innocent, is understood from other places of St. Augustine. 842

Secondly, because the Roman Pontiff is not only said to hold fast to the Apostolic See, as the Bishop of Antioch and Ephesus, but is even the rule of the Apostolic See. 843 Thirdly, because the Roman Pontiff is not only said to be he Prelate of the Apostolic See, as the Bishop of Antioch and others, but even his office is called an Apostolic office, as is clear from the Council of Chalcedon, Act 1, where we read the Vicars of Pope Leo said: "His Apostolic office has deigned to command that Dioscorus should not sit in the Council.' Likewise, the Emperor Honorius, in the epistle to Boniface: "We ask first, in order that your Apostolic office would deign to focus by means of daily prayers and its devotion for salvation, upon our rule." Likewise an epistle of the Bishops of Gaul, which is number 51 among the Epistles of Leo, says: "Let your Apostolic office give pardon to our lateness." Next, in an epistle of St Bernard to Innocent we read: "It is fitting that we relate the emergence of dangers and scandals emerging in the kingdom of God to your Apostolic office etc." Such a name, we read about no one else, but the Roman Pontiff.

Whereby it is deduced; the Sees of Antioch and Ephesus and the like, were bishops of Apostolic Sees; that is, of those in which the Apostles sat, but they did not succeed the Apostles in Apostolic office in any way, otherwise they would also be said to have the dignity of Apostolic office. But the Roman Pontiff is the Bishop of the Apostolic See and succeeded in some way in an Apostolic office, that is, in the care of the whole world, which was a certain part of the Apostolic office, and on that account, it is called a position of the Apostolic office itself. From which a certain objection of Nilus remains answered, which in his book on the primacy of the Pope he strives to prove

hat the Roman Pontiff does not have primacy over other bishops, because the Bishops of Antioch and Ephesus and Jerusalem were chosen to have Apostolic Thrones.

The fifteenth is Universal Bishop. In the Council of Chalcedon, Act. 3 hree epistles of different Greeks to Pope Leo were read, all of which begin hus: "To the most Holy and blessed and universal Archbishop and great Patriarch, Leo of Rome." From such words, three lies of the heretics are efuted. One of Luther, where, when he said Gregory refused the name of Universal, he adds: "Why would someone speak of the name of Supreme and Most Holy?" Therefore, Luther 844 means in the time of Gregory, the name of Most Holy and Supreme were as yet unheard of. In that, the incredible nexperience of Luther, or at least his malice, is uncovered, for all the Fathers call the Pope of Rome "most holy," and the citation clearly shuts the mouth of Luther.

What of the fact, that in the second action of the same Council of Chalcedon, Aetius, the Bishop of Nicopolis, calls St. Leo "Our Lord and most Holy Pope"? By what title more displeases the heretics of our time, when nevertheless, it did not once displease a universal Council, and a senate, and udged such who listened to Aetius say: "Because now the epistle of our Lord and most holy Pope has been read, etc." Gregory himself uses the noun 'supreme" [*summus*] as we cited above, 845 and the universal Council of Chalcedon says it (*summitas tua*) in its epistle to Leo.

The second is of the Centuriators, 846 who say the Roman Pontiff was created a Patriarch by Justin the Emperor in the year 700. But if that were so now comes it that Leo is called universal Patriarch very frequently in the Council of Chalcedon, which was celebrated in the year 454?

The third is of Calvin, 847 who relates the words of St. Gregory, 848 that he title of Universal was offered to his predecessors at the Council of Chalcedon, and then he adds: "This has no species of truth, for such a thing is not seen in the acts of that Council." But of course this is an impudent lie although certainly the Council decreed nothing on this matter, still Calvin knows well enough that this name is given to the Roman Pontiff, and it did no displease the Council, since in the third action, Pope Leo is most often called by this name, and no one in the Council condemned such an appeal.

But Calvin objects against this name using the same words of Gregory, and very often repeats that the title of Universal Bishop is profane and a sacrilege he forerunner of Antichrist, and therefore, no one from his predecessors ever

wished to use it. Even Illyricus 849 objects, and likewise Luther, 850 that in a canon of an African Council cited by Gratian, 851 Prima sedis, we read "Moreover the Roman Pontiff is not called Universal."

I respond: the name of universal Bishop can be understood in two ways. In one way, as he who is called Universal, should be understood to be the only bishop of all the cities of Christians; so that the rest might not be bishops, but only the vicars of the one who is called universal bishop, and in this manner the name is truly profane, a sacrilege, and of Antichrist. Gregory speaks concerning this meaning, based on the reason which he gives. Even in that epistle cited by Calvin which is to Constance: "It is exceedingly sad, that it should be patiently born, in regard to all being despised, my brother and fellow bishop being in charge only tries to be called a bishop." And in a letter to Eulogius: "If one is called Universal Patriarch, the name of the other Patriarchs is diminished." 852 And in an epistle to Eusebius: "If one is universal, what remains is that you would not be bishops." 853 In another manner, a bishop can be called universal, who has care of the whole Church, but generally not so as to exclude particular bishops. And in this manner, this name can be given to the Roman Pontiff, which is also proven from the mind of St. Gregory.

Firstly, because Gregory affirms that the name of Universal Bishop was given to the Roman Pontiff by the Council of Chalcedon, as well as to his successors, 854 which the same Gregory who was holy and Catholic teaches everywhere, therefore, he thought that in some sense this title was fitting for the Roman Pontiff. Secondly, because Gregory asserts in the same epistle, that care of the whole Church was consigned to Peter by the Lord, because it is the same thing, as if he would have said: "Peter is the Universal Bishop constituted by Christ." Thirdly, because even if the Roman Pontiffs, as Gregory correctly says were never called Universal Bishops, still they often called themselves bishops of the Universal Church: as is clear from many Popes. 855 Such testimonies Gregory certainly read, nor was he ignorant in regard to the sense, of a bishop of a Universal Church, and a Universal Bishop.

But you will say, if this name can have a good sense, why does Gregory absolutely pronounce it to be proud, sacrilegious, profane, and why does he absolutely avoid its use?

I respond: for two reasons. Firstly, for caution, just as the name Christotocos, 856 has a good sense, and still the Fathers avoided the use of this name, lest it would seem that the Nestorian heresy lurked under it; for Nestorius called Mary the mother of Christ, but not the mother of God

Secondly, because then the question was whether the name could be conceded to John, the Bishop of Constantinople, not, however, whether it would be conceded to the Roman Pontiff: because then the name “Universal” would in no sense be fitting for that John, and still he usurped it to himself; therefore Gregory simply and absolutely pronounced this name to be profane and a sacrilege, without a doubt, it was given in regard to the Bishop of Constantinople, and just the same, even he refused it, although it was fitting for him in some sense, so as to better and more easily suppress the pride of the Bishop of Constantinople. From these the argument of Calvin is answered.

To the second of Luther and Illyricus, I say, they did not notice, those words were not of a Council of Africa, but of Gratian who after he relates the Canon of the Council of Africa, in which a bishop of the first See was forbidden to be called Prince of Priests, he adds on his own: “Nor is the Roman Pontiff called universal.” Because such words are of Gratian, they do not have authority, and on that account can be understood in that manner which the words of St. Gregory are.

It is a worthy observation to make in this place, such was and is even in his time the pertinacity and pride of the Greeks, and how severely they were punished by God. For when the See of the Bishop of Constantinople, which for more than 300 years had no place among the Primary Sees, not only elevated itself to the Patriarchate, but even ahead of the Sees of Alexandria and Antioch and wanted to make itself equal to Rome as well as Universal: Nor could it be reduced to sanity by the censure of Pelagius II and of other Popes, (more often for this reason they were excommunicated, as Leo IX writes in an epistle to the Emperor), nor even by the humility of St. Gregory, who, as John the Deacon writes in his life 857, that he began on account of this affair to write, not that he was an Archbishop, nor a Patriarch, but a bishop and Servant of the Servants of God; even an edict from the Emperor Phocas, on which we spoke of above could accomplish this purpose. At length, by a judgment of God from heaven the Greeks were handed over with their universal Patriarch into the hands of the Turks, which St. Birgitta had preached was going to happen to them, and also Pope Nicholas V, as Gennadius Scholarius relates in his book on behalf of the Council of Florence, ch. 5, § 14.

Footnotes

1
De Divina Traditione, Thesis XVII, n.1.
2
Quoted in: Brodrick, Robert S.J., *Robert Bellarmine, Saint and Scholar*, The Newman Press, Westminster, 1961, pg. 72.
3
The Latin Letters of C.S. Lewis, St. Augustine's Press, South Bend, IN, pg. 39.
4
"Ecce ego ponam in fundamentis Sion lapidem, lapidem probatum, angularem, pretiosum, in fundamento fundatum." Isaiah XXVIII: 16.
5
"Lapidem offensionis, et petram scandali esse dicit." Isaiah VIII: 14.
6
"Et murus civitatis habens fundamenta duodecim, et in ipsis duodecim nomina duodecim apostolorum Agni." Apocolypse XXI: 14.
7
These are a Latin play on words for the word Pontifex (bishop or Pope), meaning "ostentatious Bishop" or "Fleshy Bishop," roughly. They have no equivalents in English. -Translators note.
8
Matthew XXI: 44.
9
Loc. Cit.
10
See also Sigebert in his *Chronicle*, and it is gathered otherwise from the epistles of Pope Leo IX.
11
See John de Turrecremata, lib. 4 Eccles. P. 2, cap. 37.
12
See Luther in his book *de potestate Papae*, et in *assert*, art. 25. Cf. Philip Melanchthon (if he is indeed the author of the book) in *de potestate et primatu papae*, or *de regno Antichristi nomine* written in the name of the

Smalkaldic Council. John Calvin in bk 4 of the Institutes, Chapter 6, and the rest. John of Brenz *in Confessione Wirtemb.* Chapter on the Supreme Pontiff, and *in the Prolegomena against Peter of Soto*. Matthew Illyricus *in Cent.* 1, lib. 2, cap. 7, col. 524, et sequ. And ch. 10, col. 558, and thereupon in individual centuries, Chapter 7. For the same author, in the book on the primacy of the Pope, and in another *de hist. Concert. Papae* and *Concilii VI Carthaginens.*

13

Here, the modern reader, particularly in the English speaking world where the benefits of "democracy" or "republicanism" are accepted *a priori* , should not become bogged down with a particular disagreement with Bellarmine on the issue of monarchy being the best form of government. In the first place, he is arguing largely from Aristotle in regard to what is objectively the best form of government, albeit he certainly was not a republican. Secondly, Bellarmine is using the argument for monarchy to buttress his defense of the monarchical government of the Church. - Translator's note.

14

Plato *in Politic.*, Aristotle book 3 *Polit.* ch. 5, and book 8.; *Ethic*. Ch. 10.

15

Instit., ch. 6, § 9.

16

Ibid., 20 § 8.

17

De confus. Linguar.

18

In orat. Exhort. Ad gent.

19

In orat. Adver. Idol.

20

Tract. De Idol. Vanit.

21

Epist. Ad Rusticum monach.

22

in I Q 103, art. 3; and book 4 of the Contra Gentiles, ch. 76.

23

Politica ultra med.

24

Ethica book 8, ch. 10.

25

De benef., book 2.

26

“It is not good that there be many, [in war] there must be one chief and one king.” Illiad, book II, line 253. -Translator’s note.

27

Instit., bk4., ch. 6 §8.

28

Doctr. Fidei, bk 2, art. 1, ch. 7.

29

Instit., bk 4, ch. 41, § 6.

30

Ibid., ch. 20, §8.

31

This work was written in 1577. -Translator’s note.

32

Justine, bk 1.

33

In tract., de Idol. Vanit.

34

Epist. Ad Rustic.

35

Lib. 4 Instit. Ch. 6 § 8.

36

Genesis XIV: 13-17.

37

Genesis XXXVIII: 7.

38

Exodus XXXII: 26-28.

39

Judges VIII: 8-10.

40

I Kings (I Samuel) VIII.

41
Hebrews III.
42
Omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur. Matthew XII:25.
43
Bk 2, ch. 7.
44
Exodus XVIII.
45
Instit. Ch. 20 §6.
46
Ibid.
47
Hist. Eccl., bk 2, ch. 25.
48
Attendite vobis et universo gregi, quos Spiritus sanctus posuit episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei. - Acts XX.
49
Obedite praepositis vestris. - Hebrews XIII.
50
Qui praeest in sollicitudine. Romans XII.
51
Qui bene praesunt duplici honore digni habeantur. 1 Tim. V.
52
Instit. Bk 4, ch. 11 §1.
53
Psalm II.
54
Luke I.
55
1 Cor. 4.
56
Cent. 1 bk 2, ch. 7.
57
De episcop. elect.
58

Instit. Bk 4, ch. 11, §6.

59

In Prolegom. Cont. Pet. A Soto.

60

The theologians who particularly treat on this are: St. Thomas, *4 Supra Sententias, Suma contra gentiles ch. 76.* John de Turrecremata, bk 2 De Eccl. Ch. 2; Nicholaus Sanders in the books on the visible monarchy of the Church.

61

Init. 2 Agr.

62

Livius bk 2, and 4.

63

Livius, bk 3; Cicero de lege Manil. and de lege Agr. Ad pop rom.

64

Titus I:6.

65

Cent. 1, bk2, ch. 2, col. 13. The “Centuriators of Magdeburg”, were a group of Protestant historians who attempted to show that Protestantism was the religion of the early Church. Cardinal Baronius and St. Peter Canisius completely disproved their work, to the extent that even amongst Protestants it is of a merely antiquarian interest. -Translator’s note.

66

Irenaeus lib. 3, ch. 3.

67

De praescript.

68

Lib. 3, ch. 4.

69

Leo, epist. 81 to Doscorum; Bede bk de sex aetat, in Claudio.

70

Eusebius, ibid.

71

Acts XV.

72

Hexameron, Bk 5, ch. 21.

73
In ch. 21 Matth.
74
Hom. 2 in Joanne.
75
Bk 1 Politc. Ch. 1 and 3.
76
De. Utilit. Cred., ch. 12.
77
The last Chapter of John; Acts XX.
78
Bk 3, epist. 9.
79
Sozomen, bk 6, ch. 6; “Imperium” has been left in the Latin, because it is a technical term in Roman law. When someone has imperium, they have the full authority to command troops, and choose their consorts. - Translator’s note.
80
Bk 3, epist. 14.
81
In epist. 32.
82
Lib. 3, epist. 10.
83
Psalm XLIV.
84
1 Cor. XII.
85
In epist. 7, ad Smyrnen.
86
Orta. Ad cives.
87
Bk 3 de sacerdot., and hom. 4 in cap. 6 Isaiae; Ambrose bk de dignit. Sacerd. Ch. 2.
88
Hom. 83 in Matth.

89
In. Psal. XCVIII.
90
In epist. Ad Anastasium.
91
Bk 13 Moral. Ch. 19; bk 4, epist. 31.
92
Eusebius bk 6, ch. 25, hist.
93
Ruffinus, bk 1, ch. 2, hist.
94
Theodoretus, bk 5, hist. Cap. 17.
95
2 Cor. 4.
96
1 Peter 2.
97
1 Corin. IV; Hebr. XIII; Act. 20.
98
Confess., bk 9, last Chapter.
99
Bernard, Lib. 2, *de consider*.
100
1 Cor. XIV, and 1 Tim. II.
101
Augustine haer. 27; Epiphanius, haer. 49.
102
2 psal. 19.
103
2 Paral. 26.
104
Synodo Matisconensi can 9; Concilio Milevitano; can. 19, Toledo 3, cen. 13.
105
Epist. 33 ad Sororem.
106

Thedoret, bk 5, ch. 18, hist.

107

Athanasius, epist. Ad solit. Vit. Agent.

108

Epist. 48, 50 and 163.

109

Lib 3, epist. 125.

110

1 and 2 Orat. Pro imag.

111

Romans XIII.

112

Deut. XVII.

113

Concilium Constantiensi sess. 15, art. 27, 28, 29.

114

In epist. Ad Pammach., *Advers. Jo., episc. Hierosol*.

115

In epist. 1 to Innocent I.

116

4 Institu. Ch. 20 §8.

117

Lib 3, epist. 19.

118

Ibid. Epist. 10.

119

Comment. 5, ch. On the first epist. to Tim.

120

3 Kings (1 Kings) XII.

121

Esther I.

122

In ch. 1 ad Titum.

123

In lib., *de vir. Illust*. In Jacobo.

124

In epist. Ad Evagr., 85.

125

In lib. 1 cont. Jovinian.

126

Calvin, *Instit.*, bk 4, ch. 6 § 9.

127

1 Peter II.

128

Matt. XVII.

129

John I.

130

St. Gregory, *Bk 4 epist. 52*.

131

Hebrews VIII.

132

Tertull. *Bk. 2 Contra Marcion*, Gregor. *Hom. 34; in Evang., and book 32 Moral*, ch. 24; Jerome, or rather more Beed in ch. 40 *of Job*; Isidor. Bk 1 *De summa bona*, ch. 12.

133

Job LX; Isaiah XIV.

134

Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, bk 11. Ch. 15.

135

Ezechial XXVIII: 13.

136

Moral. Bk 32, ch. 25.

137

Institut. Bk 4, ch. 6 § 10.

138

1 Corinth. X.

139

Cent. 1, bk 1, ch. 7, col. 257.

140

Instit., bk 4, ch. 6 § 2.

141

Ibid.

142

Contra Faustum, bk. 20, ch. 18.

143

Augustine, *Contra adversarium legis et prophetae*, ch. 18; *de Baptismo*, bk 3, ch. 19.

144

Gregory, *De Cur. Pastor.* Par. 2, ch. 4.

145

Song of Songs, VI.

146

Ibid, VII.

147

Daniel II; John I, 1 Timoth. III; 1 Peter III.

148

Epist. ad Rusticum monach.

149

Apoc. XXI; 2 Cor. XI; Ephes. V; often in the Song of Songs.

150

Song of Songs VII.

151

Ibid, V.

152

John X.

153

Cyprian, *Epistula 6 ad Magnum*, bk 1.

154

Luke XII.

155

De Sacerd. Cir. Princ. , bk 2.

156

Cent. 1, bk 1, ch. 7, col. 268.

157

Politika, bk 3, ch. 2.

158

Instit., bk. 4, ch. 6, § 7.

159
St. Leo, *Epistula ad Anastas. Thessal. Archiep.*
160
He so speaks in the *Institutes*, bk.4 ch. 4 § 4: “Moreover, individual provinces had one among the bishops as an archbishop: likewise in the Council of Nicaea patriarchs were constituted, who were superior to archbishops by order and dignity; that pertained to the preservation of discipline.”
161
Instit., bk 4, ch. 4 § 2.
162
1 Timothy 5.
163
Concilium 3 Carthaginensi, ch. 45.
164
Leo, *Epistula ad Anast. Thessal., no 84*; Gregory, *Epist. 52*, bk 4.
165
Romans X.
166
Ephesians IV.
167
Centur 1 bk 2 ch. 7 col. 522 et sequent.
168
Instit., bk 4, ch. 20, § 7.
169
De Consider., bk 3.
170
Instit., bk 4, ch. 6 § 1.
171
2 Cor. XI.
172
Jerome, *Epist. 2 ad Damas. De nom. Hypost.*; *Contra Ruffinum*, bk 2.
173
Augustine, *Epistula 162.*
174
Psalm XLIV.

175
De Consider., bk. 3, near the beginning.
176
Hom. 55 in Matth.
177
1 Corinthians III.
178
Psalm LXXXI.
179
Beza, *Confess.*, ch. 5, art. 5.
180
2 Cor. XI.
181
Daniel II: 37-38.
182
Isaiah XLV:1.
183
Luke II:1.
184
Eusebius, *de Demonstr. Evang.* bk 3, ch. 9; Leo, *Serm. 1 de Sanctis Petro et Paulo*.
185
1 Cor. 3.
186
Hom. 83 in Matth.
187
Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, bk. 4, ch. 15.
188
Matthew XVI: 16-18.
189
Instit., bk. 4, ch. 6 §6.
190
Luther, *de Poteste Papae*; The Centuriators, *Centur. 1*, ch. 4, col. 175, and *De primatu papae* of the Smalkaldic synod, bk 1.
191
Ad Galat., ch. 2.

192
The Selah used in our manuscript of the Hebrew Old Testament is rendered: hlS, perhaps owing to a manuscript or printing error. -Translator's note.
193
To aid those untrained in Greek, I offer the following: English has largely lost the concept of grammatical gender. There is no rhyme or reason for why a noun might be classified as masculine, feminine or neuter (neither), except that they follow certain relationships or parent nouns which fall into those categories. Pronouns standing in place of a masculine or feminine noun, for example, will be translated into English as "it", as we have no grammatical gender. The noun petra in Greek is feminine, but Peter is masculine. Unlike in Semitic languages, if one applies a feminine noun to a man, it has unhappy connotations explored in drama, satire and other literary genres of Ancient Greek to imply effeminacy or other vices, and so it was customary in any context to make the feminine noun masculine to suit who it is being applied to. Therefore, Bellarmine makes the exegetical commentary that changing the feminine noun *petra* into a masculine ending *petros* (2nd declension masculine), means it can only apply to Peter's name, whereas in Semitic languages like Aramaic, this is not necessary and would have been understood from the context. Thus the Greek interpreter in the 1st century (whether the original of Matthew's gospel was in Aramaic or Hebrew, or even if it was Matthew himself remembering what the Lord had said in Aramaic and rendering it into Greek), adjusted Peter's name to correctly render this into Greek usage. -Translator's note.
194
Recractiones, bk. 1, ch. 21.
195
Origen, hom. 3, in Exod.
196
In Eunom., bk 2.
197
In Ora. De moderat. Servan. In disputat.
198
In Ancor.
199
Hom. 55 in Matth.

200
Hom. 4 in ch. 6 of Isaiah.
201
Cyril, bk 2, ch. 12 in John.
202
Psellus, *Cant.* In ch. 5.
203
De Praescriptionis, ch. 22.
204
Epist. ad Quintum.
205
In Matth., ch. 16.
206
Ambrose, *Serm. 47.*
207
Jerome, *in cap. 16. Matth.; Epist. ad Damas.*
208
In Psalmis contra partem Donati.
209
Serm. 15 de Sanctis.
210
Serm. 1 de sanctis Petro et Paulo.
211
Serm 2, de annivers. Assumpt. Suae ad pontif. Die.
212
Bk. 6, epist. 37.
213
Tract. 1 in Matth.
214
1 Corinthinas XII.
215
1 Corinthian III.
216
Tract. In Joannem, ult. CF. *Serm. 13 de verb. Dom.*
217
Rectract. Bk. 1 ch. 21.

218
Ephesians II:20.
219
Apocalypse XXI.
220
Retractiones, bk. 1, ch. 21.
221
Literally *stony* and *found among rocks*, in the Latin of St. Augustine's day. -Translator's note.
222
De Trinitate, bk 6.
223
In Lucam, bk. 6, ch. 9.
224
In Matth. Hom. 55; cf. *In Matth.*, hom. 83.
225
De Trinit., bk 4.
226
Augustine, *De verb. Apost.*, Serm. 22.
227
1 Peter II.
228
Luke XXII: 32.
229
Hilary, *loc. cit.*
230
In Matth., ch. 16.
231
In Lucam, bk 6, ch. 9.
232
In Joannem, bk 2, ch. 12.
233
In Matth. Hom. 55.
234
Serm. 47.
235

Bk. 4, ep. 32.

236

De Potestate Papae.

237

Psalm LXXXVI.

238

Apocalypse XXI: 14.

239

Ephesians II.

240

In Jovinian., bk 1.

241

Romans XVI.

242

1 Corinthians III.

243

De Potestate Papae.

244

Instit., bk 4, ch. 6, § 4.

245

Cent. 1, bk 1, and 2.

246

De Potestate Papae.

247

De Trin., bk. 6 and 10; Ps. CXXXI.

248

See 2 Maccabees XIV: 37-46. In the context of this work St. Augustine is refuting Gaudentius who argues from the example of Razias who committed suicide rather than be captured. -Translator's note.

249

Contra duas epistulas Gaudnetii, bk 1, ch. 31.

250

John XIII.

251

Liber de Isaac, ch. 3.

252

Serm. 13 *de Verb. Dom.*

253

John VI.

254

De Trinitate, bk 6.

255

Hom. 55 in Matth.

256

Bk 12, in Jo. Cap. 64.

257

De Tempore, Serm. 124.

258

De. Pass. Dom., serm. 11.

259

ch. De Eccles.

260

Jerome, *in epist., ad Hedibiam*, quest. 9.

261

Tract. In Jo., 22 and 49.

262

Cajetan, *de instit. et auct. Rom. Pont.*, ch. 5.

263

De Simplic. Praelat., or *de Unitate Ecclesiae*.

264

De Trinitate, bk 6.

265

In Jovin., bk 1.

266

Tract. In Jo., final tractate; *in Psal. 108*, and *de doctrina Christiana*, ch. 18; *de agone Christi*, ch. 3.

267

Serm. 3, de annivers. Assumpt. Suae ad pontifi.

268

Epist. 84 ad Anasts. Episc. Thessal.

269

Bk 1, epist. 3 ad Cornel.

270
Bk 4, epist. 8 ad Cornel.
271
Leo, *epist. 89, ad Episc. Viennens*.
272
De Trinitate, bk 15, ch. 26.
273
In Ps. 108.
274
Serm. 13 de verb. Domini.
275
Tract. In Joan., tract 121.
276
De Baptismo, bk 3, ch. 18.
277
Ibid, ch. 17.
278
De Baptisma, bk 5, ch. 21; bk 3, and bk 7, ch. 51.
279
Institut., bk 4, ch. 6 § 3.
280
2 Corinthians V.
281
Matth. XVIII; Mark IX; Luke IX and XXII.
282
Cent. 2, bk 2, ch. 7, column 526.
283
Isaiah XXII: 17-20.
284
Apocalypse III.
285
Matth. XXII.
286
Matth. XVIII.
287
Hom. 55 in Matth.

288
Gregory, bk 4, epist. 32.
289
In epist. Ad Hedibiam, q. 9.
290
1 Cor. I.
291
Acts II.
292
Mark IX.
293
Luke XXII.
294
Serm. de Sts Petro et Paulo.
295
Epist. 89, ad Episc. Viennen. Prov.
296
Instit., bk 4, 6. § 3.
297
1 Peter V.
298
De ag. Christ., ch. 30.
299
Serm. 3, de annivers. Suae assump.
300
De Potestate Papae.
301
Pasco, pascere, pavi, patus = to feed, to graze, to put to pasture. The original meaning of this term is pastoral, and as Bellarmine here argues, suggests one in authority, such as a shepherd, or a farmer who is over the animals. -Translator's note.
302
Luke XII.
303
Iliad, bk 2.
304

Matth. 2. In Greek it is ec sou/ moi exeleu,setai h`gou,menoj(s[xij *poimanei*] tovn laovn tou/ Israh.l)

305

Apocalypse 19.

306

In lib. De cur. Pastor.

307

De Potestate Papae.

308

Contra Primatum Papae.

309

Cent 1, bk 2, ch. 7, col. 525.

310

Institut., bk 4, ch. 6 § 7.

311

To clarify for readers not familiar with Greek, pro,bata (probata) = sheep, while proba,tia (probatēa) = little sheep, and is translated in the Vulgate by the Latin term *ovicula*. The difference is one letter “I” (iota). -Translator’s note.

312

Leo, *serm. 3*, de anniver. assumpt. suae.

313

John X.

314

Ibid.

315

In Ancor.

316

Loc. Cit.

317

Gregory, bk 4, epist. 32.

318

St. Bernard, *de Consideratione*, ch. 8, n. 15.

319

Galatians II:5.

320

Ibid., II:9.

321

1 Kings (1 Samuel) XXIII.

322

Galatians II.

323

In the Ancient world, Asia (also called Asia minor) usually meant Anatolia, which today is Turkey. -Translator's note.

324

Quoted in Eusebius, *Historiae Eccl.*, bk 3, ch. 1.

325

Acts X.

326

Acts XV.

327

Epistola I, ad Decentium, ch. 1.

328

Acts XIII; XIV; XVII; XVIII; XXVIII.

329

1 Corinthians IX.

330

Acts IX.

331

Acts I.

332

Matth. XV.

333

Romans XV.

334

Romans XI.

335

As quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.*, bk 1, ch. 14.

336

Cyprian, *Epistola ad Quintum*.

337

Augustine, *Epist. 19*, ad Hieronymum.

338
Homilia 18 in Ezech.
339
Acts VI.
340
Acts VIII.
341
Acts X.
342
Acts XI.
343
John XIII.
344
Joshua XXII.
345
Genesis XXII.
346
Bk 9 in Julianum.
347
Homil. 42 in Matth.
348
Cent. 1, bk 2, ch. 10, col. 558.
349
Genesis XVII.
350
Epist. ad Galatos, ch. 2.
351
Contra Parmenianum, bk 2.
352
Isaiah VIII and XXVIII; Dan II; Psal. CXVII; Math. XXI; Rom. IX; 1 Cor. X; Ephes. II; 1 Peter II; and other places.
353
Epist. 89, ad Episcopos Viennensis provinciae.
354
Serm 3, de anniversario die assumptionis suae ad pontificatum.
355

Matthew X.

356

Cent 1, bk 2, ch. 7, col. 524.

357

Ibid, ch. 10, col. 561.

358

Haeres. 51, which is of Irrational things.

359

In Jovinianum, bk 1.

360

Cent 1., bk 2, ch. 10.

361

In 2 Cor. 12.

362

1 Corinthians I.

363

Epist. ad Smyrnenses.

364

Hom. 55. In Matth.

365

Matth. XIV.

366

St. Bernard, *de considerat.*, bk 2.

367

In Psal. 131.

368

De Trinitate, bk 6.

369

Athanasius, *Serm. 4*, Contra Arianos; Chrysostom *in Matthew* ch. 16; Cyril, bk *In Joannem* bk 12, ch. 64; Augustine *de Tempore*, serm. 124; Leo *serm. 2* de natali Petri et Pauli.

370

Luke V; John XXI.

371

Tract. In Joannem, Tract. 122.

372

Psalm XXXIX.
373
Sermon 11.
374
John XXI.
375
Sermon 3, de anniversario assumptionis suae ad Pontific.
376
Luke XXIV.
377
1 Cor. XV: 1-8.
378
Epistola ad Salvinam.
379
Hom. 22 in Acta.
380
Hom. 87.
381
Ad Galatos, ch. 1.
382
Epistola ad Augustinum, 89.
383
In cap. 3 Joannis.
384
Hist., bk 2, ch. 3.
385
Summae de Ecclesia, bk 2, ch. 32.
386
Epistolae, 81.
387
Epist. 2.
388
Quoted in Eusebius, *Histor.* Bk 2, ch. 1.
389
De viris illustribus, in Jacobo.
390

Bk 4, epist. 8.

391

Which is 91 among the epistles of Augustine.

392

93 among the Epistles of Augustine.

393

Julius I, *in Epist. 1 ad Orientales*. [The context of this letter is that St. Athanasius appealed to this Pope after being unjustly condemned by Eastern Bishops, and Pope Julius I reversed their judgment. -Translator's note].

394

Serm. 3.

395

Epist. 89.

396

Psalm CVIII: 8.

397

There is something lost here in English, namely that the term episkwpo,j (episkopos) in Greek means an overseer, so St. Robert is trying to draw the distinction of the Apostles as overseers as opposed to their being actual bishops in the ordained sense. -Translator.

398

Bk 7, Epist. ad Atticum.

399

Bk 1, ch. 20; and the beginning of bk 3.

400

Instit. Bk 4, ch. 6 § 15.

401

Arnobius, *Contra Gentes*, bk 2.

402

Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cateches.* 6; Epiphanius, *Haeresi.* 121. Theodoret, *haeret. Fabularum*, bk 1; Ambrose *Oratine in Auxentium*; Jerome, *de Viris Illustribus*, in Simone Petro; Sulpitius, *Sacrae Historiae*, bk 2. Gregory of Tours, *hist. ca., 25;* Eusebius, *hist. Eccl.* Bk 2, ch. 13; Maximus, *in Serm. Ult. De SS. Petro et Paulo*.

403

De Haeres. Ch. 1.

404
Epistle 36 ad Casulanum.
405
Serm. 1, de natali sanctorum Petri et Pauli.
406
Ambrose, *Oratione contra Auxentium*; Egesippus, *De Excidio Hierosol.*, bk 3 ch. 2.
407
“For they have not rejected you but me, lest I would reign over them.” 1 Kings (1 Samuel) VIII: 7.
408
Council of Nicaea, can. 6; Chalcedon act. 16; Anacletus, epistola 3; Leo ad Anatholium, epistola 53; epist. Gregorii ad Eulogium, which is number 37, bk 6.
409
Ad Pamachium contra Joannem Episcopum Hierosolymae.
410
Epistle 62 ad Maximum Antiochenum.
411
Institut. bk 4, ch. 6, § 13.
412
Institt. Bk 4, ch. 7, § 14.
413
In Epist. 54, ad Martianum Augustum.
414
In Epist. ad Episcopos Dardaniae.
415
Ibid.
416
Bk 14, ch. 3.
417
Gregory, bk 6, epist. 37.
418
Epist. 53 ad Anatholium.
419
Contra Parmenianum, bk 2.

420
Serm. 15 de Sanctis.
421
Patrou(uiou(agou pneumoj.
422
Contra Parmenianum, bk 2.
423
See Burchard, bk 2, ch. 227; Ivo, bk 6, ch. 433 and 434; Sidonius Apoll., bk 7 epist. 2.
424
Cent 1, bk 2, ch. 7, col. 527.
425
Instit., bk 4, ch. 7, § 3.
426
Ad Rom. Ch. 6.
427
Pontifex, pontificis (m) is a Roman term for a priest originating from the early Republican period. It was taken up early on to translate the Greek episkwpo,j(along with the Latin term *antistis*, which is a literal translation of the Greek meaning “overseer,” (which can be found in the Canon of the Mass), and the transliteration episcopus. We have retained “pontiff” here to stay as true to the Latin as possible. -Translator’s note.
428
Hist. Eccl., bk 2, ch. 14.
429
Serm. de Judicio Dei.
430
Oratio de moderatione in disputationibus servanda.
431
Epiphanius, *haeresi* 51; *in Ancorato*.
432
Cateches. 2.
433
In Joannem, bk 12, ch. 64.
434
In Matt., hom. 11.

435
In Act., ch. 1.
436
Bk 3, ch. 17.
437
In Epist. ad Quintum.
438
De Baptismo, bk 2, ch. 1.
439
In serm. 3 de Apostolis.
440
Contra Parmenianum, bk 2.
441
In 2 epist. Ad Corinthios, ch. 12.
442
In Jovinianum, bk 1.
443
Loc. cit.
444
Serm. 124 *de temp.*
445
Serm. 3, *de anniv. Ass. Pont. Suae.*
446
Epist. 84 ad Anastasium, at the end.
447
The preceding quotations are in verse in the original Latin, and we have chosen to render them in prose in English. -Translator's note.
448
Bk 4, epist. 32 ad Mauritium.
449
Homilia in Vigilia sancti Andreae; Intuitus eum, John 1.
450
Homilia in festo Petri et Pauli.
451
In Epistola 237 ad Eugenium.
452

De considerat., bk 2.

453

Clement, *Dispositionum*, bk 6, which is found in Eusebius, *Hist.*, bk. 2, ch. 1.

454

Homilia 3 in Acts.

455

Commentary on the last Chapter of John.

456

De considerat., bk 2.

457

What Bellarmine says here is also born out by the Greek versions in use today. Moreover, the Schaff and Wace edition of the Post Nicene Fathers from a century ago, which was carried about by Protestants, who feared that Anglican editions from the Oxford movement were too Catholic, translates the Greek with little difference from our own rendering: “Then James, whom the ancients surnamed the Just on account of the excellence of his virtue, is recorded to have been the first to be made bishop of the Church of Jerusalem.”

458

Homilia 3 in Acta.

459

1 Corinthians 15.

460

Romans 15.

461

Ad Bonafacium, *bk 3.*

462

Cyprian, *in epistola ad Quintum*; Augustine, *Epistola 19, ad Hieronymum*; Jerome, *epist. 89 ad Augustinum*; Gregory, *homil. 18 in Ezechiel*; Theodoret, *in epistola ad Leonem*; Oecumenius, *Ad Galatas*, ch. 1.

463

Irenaeus bk 3, ch. 3.

464

Maximus, *Serm. Ult. De sanctis Petro et Paulo*.

465

Serm 1., de Natali Apostolorum.

466

Loc. Cit.

467

Dialog., bk 1, last Chapter.

468

“An old man walked between younger men, and they were not indignant, if he had only one companion, the elder walked on the inner side.” -Ovid, *Fasti*, bk 5, 67-68.

469

“He between Gya’s boat and the journey scraped the resounding boulders, on the inner left, and immediately passed by the first.” -Virgil, *Aeneid*, bk V, 168-172.

470

Serm. 61, *De Pentecoste*.

471

In Comment. Ad Ephesos, ch. 1.

472

Innocent III, *Sermo de Evangelistis*; St. Thomas, *Commentaria in Epistola ad Galatas*, prima Lectio.

473

Genesis XXXV; XLII.

474

Centur. 1, bk 2, ch 10, colum. 558-560.

475

Sermon 1, de natali Apostol.

476

Leo, *Serm. De transfiguratione*.

477

In Joannem, bk 9, ch. 4.

478

Luke XXII.

479

Homil. 85 in Matth.

480

Cyril, *in Joan.*, bk 2, ch. 35.

481
Ambrose, *in Lucam*, cap. 22.
482
Homil. 21 in Evangelium.
483
Matthew X.
484
John XX: 9.
485
Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, bk 4; Cyril, *in Julianum*, bk 9.
486
Epistula 89.
487
Tertullian, *Contra Marc.*, bk 4; Cyprian, *epist. Ad Quintum*; Ambrose, *ad Galatos*, ch. 2; Augustine *epist.* Ad Hieronymum, 8, 9, et 19; Gregory *moral.*, bk 28, ch. 12, and several others.
488
Doctr. Fidei, bk 2, art. 1, ch. 7.
489
Instit., bk. 4, ch. 6, §15.
490
Centur. 1, bk 2, ch. 10, col. 561.
491
1 Peter V:13.
492
Eusebius, *histor. Eccl.*, bk 2 ch. 15.
493
Conta Marcionem, bk 3; *Contra Judaeos*.
494
Centur 1, bk 2, ch. 4, col. 56.
495
Contra Marcionem, bk. 3.
496
Breviculo collationis, Collatione 3.
497
In Jovinianum, book 2, near the end.

498
Irenaeus, bk 3, ch. 3.
499
Hist. Eccl., bk 2, ch. 14.
500
Contra Gentes, bk 2.
501
Haeres., 27, which is of Carpocratis.
502
In Psal. XLVIII.
503
Histor., bk 7, ch. 6.
504
Serm 1 de natali Apostolorum.
505
Ad Romanos, ch. 1.
506
Histor., bk 1, ch. 25.
507
C. De summa Trinitate, et fide Catholica, L. Cunctos populos.
508
Summa Historalis, part 1, tit. 3, ch. 9, § 14.
509
Hist., bk 7.
510
Recognitiones, bk 1.
511
Histor., bk 2, ch. 15, from Papias and Clement of Alexandria. Cf. Irenaeus, bk 2, ch. 1; Jerome, *de viris illustribus*, in Marco; Damasus, *in Pontificali invita Petri*; Isirore *in vita Marci*.
512
Contra Marcionem, bk 4.
513
Hist. Eccl., bk 2, ch. 25.
514
De Illustribus Viris, in Ignatio.

515
Hist. Eccl., bk 2, ch. 25.
516
De Excidio Hierosolymae, bk 3, ch. 2.
517
Hist. Eccl., bk 3, ch. 2.
518
In Genesin, bk 3.
519
In Epistola ad Romanos, Hom. 32.
520
De Praescript., ch. 36.
521
Divinarum instit., bk 4 ch. 21.
522
In Oratione contra Auxentium, which is contained in *epist.*, bk 5.
523
De viris illustribus, in Petro.
524
De Consensu Evangel., bk 1, ch. 10.
525
Serm 5, de natali Apostolorum.
526
Sac. Histor., bk 2.
527
In vita Neronis, bk 7.
528
Natali, 3.
529
Serm 1, de natali Apostolorum.
530
Bk 1, ch. 25.
531
Bk 6, epist. 37.
532

“Depart O adulterous Jupiter, forgetful debaser of thine own sister, give Rome back her freedom, and now flee the people of Christ. Hence Paul exterminates thee, the Blood of Peter drives thee away, that which you had equipped for yourself, impedes the deed of Nero.” - *Liber Peristephanon*, hymn II.

533

“Worthy matter for the crowns of Peter and Paul, to conquer Caesar’s menaces, and to outstretch justice on a pole in the citadel of the tyrant, to conquer the supreme tribunal in agony, lest so small an enemy should lay hands upon thy honor.” -Arator, *Actus Apostolorum*,

534

“O happy Rome, thou empurpled by the precious blood of such princes, not by thy own laud but by their merits, excel the beauty of all the world.” - *Decora Lux Aeternitatis*.

535

Tacitus, *Annales*, bk 15; Suetonius, *In Nerone*.

536

Acts III.

537

Acts IX.

538

1 Cor. IX.

539

1 Cor. XV.

540

Bk 3, ch. 3.

541

Praescriptiones contra haereticos.

542

Bk 1, epist 3 ad Cornelium.

543

Bk 4, epist 2 ad Antonianum.

544

Haeres. 27, which is of Carpocras.

545

Bk 4, ch. 14.

546
Bk 6, epistl. 37.
547
Contra Parmenianum, bk 2.
548
De Sacramentis, bk 3, ch. 1.
549
De viris illustribus, on Peter.
550
Conta literas Petiliani, bk 2, ch. 51.
551
“At Rome now two Princes of the Apostles reign; One the herald of the gentiles, the other possessing the First Chair, he opens the gates of eternity to him entrusted.” Loc. Cit.
552
Sacra histor. Bk 2.
553
De sex aetatibus.
554
Chronicorum, tomus 2, bk 2, ch. 13.
555
Chronicum, anno Christi XLV.
556
Constit. Apostolic., bk 7, ch. 46.
557
In pontificali in Petro.
558
This is 93 among the epistles of Augustine.
559
Leo, *serm. 1 de natali Apostolorum*; Gelasius *Epistola ad Episcopos Germaniae et Galliae*; Gregory *bk 2, epist. 33*; Agatho *in epistola ad Constantinum imperatorem*; Adrian *epistola ad Tharasium*; Nicholas I, *Epistola ad Michaelem*.
560
Concilius Sardicensi, can. 3.
561

Concilium Ephesinum, Tomus 2, ch. 16.

562

Commnt. Isaiae, ch. 52.

563

Optatus, *Contra Parmenianum*, bk 2; Augustine, *Epistol. 165.*

564

Irenaeus bk 3, ch. 3; Jerome *De Viris Illustribus*, in Clemente.

565

Tertullian, *Contra Judaeos*; Clement, *Stromata*, bk 1; Lactantius, *Divinarum isntitut.*, bk 4, ch. 10.

566

Stromata, bk 1.

567

Bk 7.

568

Tertullian, *de Praescriptionibus*; Jerome, *In Jovinianum*, bk 1, and *Isaiae* ch. 52; Ruffinus, *praefatione recognitionum*, and *invectiva in Hieronymum*; John III, *in Epistola ad Episcopos Germaniae*; Clement, *Constit. Aposto* bk 7, ch. 37; Anacletus *epist. 1*; Alexander *epist. 1*; Damasus *in Vita Petri*.

569

In epistola ad Galatas, ch. 2.

570

Acts XII.

571

Hist., bk 5, ch. 18.

572

See Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, ch. 5; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, bk 3, ch. 31; Eusebius, Sulpitius, Orosius and the other historians.

573

Anacletus, ep. 3; Marcellus, epist 3; Innocent I, epist 14; Damasus, in Pontificali; Jerome, de viris illust.; Eusebius, in Chronico; Leo, Sermon 1 de sanctis Petro et Paulo; and at length, Bede, Isidore, Ado and all the rest.

574

Acts XII.

575

Acts XVIII:2.

576
Romans XV.
577
Antiquit. Bk 20, ch. 9 and 13.
578
Hist. Eccl., bk 6, ch. 33.
579
Haeres. 27.
580
Serm. 67.
581
Josephus, *Antiquitat.*, bk 18. [Modern scholarship calls into question whether Josephus actually wrote favorably about Christ, or whether this was an addition of a copyist. The standard view is that Josephus did not write that, since he remained a Jew. On the other hand, it could be argued that since Jewish understandings of the Messiah differed, Josephus could well have received Jesus as the Messiah and yet understood that in a different sense from Christians. Either way, Josephus' authorship was not in dispute by either Catholics or Protestants in the time Bellarmine wrote. -Translator's note].
582
Ibid., bk 20.
583
De bello Judaico, bk 2, ch. 11.
584
Antiquit. Bk 20.
585
To this could be added that in Latin, *adolescens* referred to someone from 18-30, as the Romans expected bad behavior from youths who would then get their act together about 30, particularly in the late Republican and early Imperial periods. See Adrian Goldsworthy, *Caesar*, Yale University Press. Thus the translators of the *Vetus Latina*, as well as St. Jerome, when they saw the Greek neani,oj(opted for *adolescens* to translate the concept of a hot headed youth early in his way to manhood, not a teenager as the word would lend itself in contemporary parlance in the 16th century. -Translator's note.

586
Antiquit., bk 20, ch. 16.
587
Luther, *de Potestate Papae*; Illyricus *Contra primatum Papae*; The Smalchadic Council in a book by the same title; John Calvin, *Instit.*, bk 4, ch. 6 and 7; the Centuriators *in Singulis Centuriis*, at the end, ch. 7.
588
Instit., bk 4, ch. 8, §8.
589
Ibid., § 11.
590
De Pastoribus, ch. 1.
591
De Sacerdotio, bk 2, near the beginning.
592
Serm 2, *de anniversario assumptionis suae ad Pontificatum*.
593
Numbers XX.
594
Judges XX.
595
Ambrose, *In oratione contra Auxentium*; Athanasius, *Apologia pro fuga sua*, etc.
596
2 Timothy IV: 13 [This rather puzzling statement can be understood in that, because it is recorded in Scripture that Paul had a cloak, then it is *de fide* that he had one, albeit the matter is otherwise trivial. -Translator's note].
597
Liberatus, *Breviarium*, ch. 21; Joannes Zonaras *in Justiniano*.
598
Instit., bk 4, ch. 6, § 8.
599
Ibid., § 11.
600
Ibid., § 12.
601

Ibid., § 13.

602

bk 4, ch. 7, § 28.

603

De Potestate Papae.

604

Contra primatum.

605

Instit. bk 4, ch. 7, § 1.

606

Hist. Ecclesiast., bk 10, ch. 6.

607

Theodoret, *Hist.*, bk 5, ch. 9.

608

Evagrius, *Hist.*, bk 1, ch. 4.

609

VI, tit. De Electione, cap. *Ubi Periculum*.

610

These are Lyons, under Innocent IV, as is contained in the first Chapter *de Homicidio* in the Sixth; the Council of Vienne under Clement V, as is contained in *Clementina Unica, de summa Trinitate et fide Catholica*. Constance, sess. 8 and 15; Lateran V under Leo X, sess. 11, and the Council of Trent, sess. 14, ch. 7, and other places.

611

Cent 2, ch. 7, towards the end.

612

De viris illustribus, in Ruffino.

613

This is taken up in Book III, which will make up volume 2 of this work. - Translator.

614

Which is extant in *Apologia Contra Arianos*, ch. 2, No 30.

615

Hist. Bk 5, ch. 10.

616

Epist. 22 ad Episcopos Macedonia.

617
Innocens, innocentis should be obvious in English, it is the negation of *nocentius*, which means guilty one. -Translator's note.
618
Epistola 106 ad Paulinum.
619
Epistola 46, Anatholl. Episc. Constantinop.
620
Serm. I, de Natali Apostl.
621
Instit., bk 4, ch. 7 § 11.
622
Epistol. Ad Episc. Dard.
623
John II, *Epist. ad Justin.*, which is contained in the Code of Justinian, Tit. 1.
624
Epist. ad Anastas. Imper.
625
In Epist. I ad varios Episc.
626
Bk 1, epist. 72 ad Gennad.
627
Bk 2, epist. 37, ad Natal.
628
Bk 7, epist. 63 ad Jo. Episc. Syracus.
629
Instit., bk 4, ch. 7 § 12.
630
Institut., bk 4, ch. 7, § 12.
631
Bk 2, epist. 37.
632
Bk 1, epist. 5 and 7.
633
Bk IV, epist. 36 ad Eulog.
634

Bk XI, epist. 42 ad Joan. Panorm. Episc.

635

Explic. IV Psal. Poenit.

636

I insert here Cardinal Franzelin's commentary on these words *potentiorem principalitatem* from his text *De Divina Traditione*, Rome 1875: Massuetus reads*: a more qualified* excellence, but affirms only the Claromont Codex to have *pontiorem* and the letter *n* being marked in *potiorem*; in the rest Codd. and edit. *potentiorem* is read. Since the Greek text of Irenaeus is lacking, the eruidte have proposed different conjectures: dia thn i`kanwteran avrchn (Griesbach); evxaireton prwteion (Salmasius); u`perteron prwteion (Massuetus); diaferousan prwteian (Thiersch). But P. Shneemann, in his most excellent dissertation, in which he proves the true sense of this citation and vindicates it against the sheering off made by Protestants (in *Ephermeride Der Katholik* 1867. T. XVII. p. 419), by comparing all the citations in which the expression *principalitas* occurs, but if it is less than certain at least he shows it the most probable, that the Greek was avuqentian. Moreover, whatever is supposed from these or both nouns, from the context, the whole argumentation of Irenaeus is most clear, it cannot mean in the case of a greater power, but rather of preeminence, or primacy of the Roman Church. Therefore, in this *principalitatem*, Irenaeus establishes the foundation and principle of the unity of faith of all the Churches or of the whole Universal Church. The only distinction, which the expression avuqentia even considered in itself, and etymologically, does not admit another meaning, avrch and prwteion in themselves perhaps may be determined in an ambiguous sense from the very context for this meaning *principatus* and *primatus*, which certainly the most ancient express. Perhaps the translator who lived at the same time as Irenaeus thought mightier pre-eminence would suffice. Just as Irenaeus appeals to the *principalitatem* of the Roman Church, so also Cyprian (ep. 55. p. 86) declares "the seat of Peter is also the *chief Church*.;" Augustine (*de Baptisma* 1. II. c. 1. n. 2.) "The Roman Church, in which the *chief (principatus) apostolic seat* always flourishes" (Ep. 443 n. 7); "The Apostolate (of Peter) is preferred as *supreme* (*principatum*) to any episcopacy," as indeed "Grace stands apart from the Sees."

637

Adv. Haeres., bk III, ch. 3.

638
Haeres. 68, which is Meletian.
639
Epist. ad Felicem Papam.
640
Carm. De vita sua.
641
Opusculum contra Graecos.
642
Sess. 7.
643
Theodoret, *epistola 113*.
644
Epistula 116.
645
Hist., bk 3, ch. 7.
646
Liberatus, *Breviarium*, ch. 22.
647
Bk 1, epist 3 ad Cornel.
648
Bk 2, epistle 10, to the same Cornelius.
649
Bk 1, epist. 8 ad plebem universam.
650
Bk 4, epist. 8.
651
Tusculum is a small suburb, by Mount Albano, not very far from Rome, and even in Roman times was a summer retreat for the wealthy. -Translator's note.
652
De Baptismo, bk III, ch. 3.
653
Bk 3, epist. 13 ad Stephanum Papam.
654
I ad Tim., c. 3.

655
De Sacramentis, bk 3, ch. 1.
656
Epist. 157 ad Optat.
657
Ad Bonifacium, bk 1, ch. 1.
658
De Vocatione Gentium, bk. 2, ch. 6.
659
De Persecutione Wandalica., bk 2.
660
Cassiodorus, bk 11, epistle 2 to Pope John.
661
Hist. Gent. Angl., bk 2, ch. 1.
662
De Incarnat. Verbi, ch. 1.
663
De Sacramentis, bk 2, p. 3, ch. 15.
664
Instit. bk 4, ch. 7, § 22.
665
Matthew XXIII:3
666
Sum. De Eccl., bk 2, ch. 39.
667
In epist. 2.
668
Epist. 1.
669
Bk VI, epist. 37, to Eulog.
670
Serm 2 de annivers. Assumt. Suae.
671
Constit. Novel 100, which still is 131 in our edition.
672
Lib. Cont. Prim. Et in hist. De Prim.

673
Cf., *ad Martian, ad Pulcheriam, ad Maximam, ad Juvenalem.*
674
De sent. Dionys. Alexandr.
675
The Roman Emperor Diocletian, 50 years or more before the Council of Nicaea, had divided the imperial administration into four emperors, known as the Tetrarchy, where there would be an Emperor for East and West, and junior emperors, all of whom would have different courts. Even before the Tetrarchy, Diocletian had visited Rome only once, out of fear of assassination. -Translator's note.
676
Matth. XVI.
677
John XXI.
678
See John de Turrecremata, bk 2, ch. 42, and book IV, last and next to last chapters.
679
Instit. bk 4, ch. 7, § 17.
680
De potestate Papae.
681
De supputat. Tempor.
682
Cent. VI, ch. 1.
683
Illyricus, *hist. De Prim.*; the Smalkaldic Council *de Primatu Papae*; Theodor Bibliander, *Chron.* Tab. 11.
684
Joan. Diac., *Vita S. Greg.*, bk 1, ch. 40.
685
Bede, *de sex aetat.* In Phoca; Ado, *Chronicus*, Paulus Diaconus bk XVIII de reb. Rom.
686
Bk VII, epist. 63 ad Jo. Syracus.

687
Einhart *in vita Caroli Magni*,; Aimonius, *de rebus gestis Francorum*, bk. IV, ch. 61; Cedrenus *Vita Leonis Isauri*; Paul the Deacon, bk VI, ch. 5 *de gest. Longobard.*; Blondus bk X; Decadis, I. Rhegino bk II Chronicor. Marianus Scotus, bk III Chronol.; Otho of Frisia, bk V histor.; Ado Viennensis in Chron. Aetat. Vi. Abbas Urspergensis in Chron. Sigebertus item in Chron. And Paulus Aemilius bk 1 and 2 de gest. Francor.

688
Magdeburgensibus, *Centur. VIII*, ch. 10 in vita Zachariae; Calvin loc. cit.

689
Epist. S. Bonifacii Episc. Mogunt., ad Zahar. Rom. Pontiff.

690
Sardanalpalus was, according to Greek historians, the last king of Assyria, who dithered, dressed like women and failed to administer the kingdom. Bellarmine uses this somewhat mythical figure to describe the failure of the Merovingian kings. -Translator's note.

691
Epistle 89 ad Episc. Galliae.

692
Epist. 54 ad Martian.

693
Bk 4, epistl. 34.

694
Bk III, epist. 13 ad Stephanum.

695
Instit., bk IV, ch. 7, § 7.

696
Liberatus, *Brevar*., ch. 21; Zonaras, *Vita Justiniani*.

697
Hist. Bk V, ch. 23.

698
Hist. Bk V, ch. 15.

699
Bk VIII, ch. 3.

700
This is clear from Tom. I Concilior. In act. Sixti III.

701
Bk 1, epist. 4.
702
Sozomenus, Hist., bk 3 ch. 7.
703
Council of Chalcedon, act 1.
704
This epistle is contained in act. Conc. Chalced. Act 3.
705
Ep. 59.
706
Nicephors, *Hist.*, bk XVII, c. 9.
707
This is also called the “Quinisext Council” from the Latin 5th-6th Council, as it was meant to complete the disciplinary work of the those two ecumenical Councils. It is also called The Council in Trullo, from trou,loj meaning dome, or specifically the dome under which the 6th Ecumenical Council was held. The position of Nilus, whom Bellarmine is refuting, holding these canons as part of the Sixth Council, is still maintained by the Chalcedonian Orthodox Churches today. -Translator’s note.
708
De sex aetat., in Justiniano juniore.
709
“This is because that is the custom to the Bishop of Rome.” -Translator’s note.
710
Bk 12, ep. 31 to Felix the Bishop of Sicily.
711
Bk 13, ch. 34.
712
Rhenginus, bk 2; Otho the Frisian, bk 6, ch. 3; Sigebert *in Chronico* anni DCCCLXII.
713
Bk 5, histor. Ch. 24.
714
Instit. bk 4, ch. 7 § 7.

715
Hist. Eccl., bk 5, ch. 15.
716
Vita Constantini, bk 3.
717
From the Latin word for fourteen, since they thought Easter should only be celebrated on the 14th day of the Jewish month of Nissan, the calendar day that Christ rose from the dead. This heresy is also prevalent amongst certain Protestants today. -Translator's note.
718
Epiphanius *de Haeresi*., 50; Augustine *haeresi*, 29.
719
Epistle 84 ad Anastasium.
720
See the letter of Celestine to Cyril in volume 4 of al the works of Cyril, and in the same place the epistle of Cyril to the clergy and people of Constantinople.
721
Today Granada and Portugal. -Translator's note.
722
In Authenticis collat. 9, tit. 6, or Novella Constitutione 131.
723
Instit., bk 4, ch. 7 & 9.
724
Sulpitius, *Sacrae Historiae*, bk 2; Socrates, *Hist. Eccleisasticae*, bk 2, ch. 16. [It must be noted here that Sardica has never been received in the list of Ecumenical Councils of the Church, and Bellarmine will explain more on this later on. -Translator's note].
725
Athanasius, *Secunda Apologia*; Hilary, *De Synodis*.
726
Cent. 4, ch. 9.
727
Haeres. 42.
728
Bk 1, epis. 3.

729
Cyprian, bk 1 epist. 4.
730
Bk 3, ch. 7.
731
Liberatus, *Breviarium*, ch. 12.
732
Super canon si clericus, 11 q. 1.
733
Epist. 59.
734
Breviarium, ch. 12.
735
Bk 1, epist. 3.
736
Bk 1, epistle 4.
737
Cent 3, ch. 7, column 176.
738
Instit., bk 4, ch. 7 § 9.
739
2 quest. 6, canon *placuit*.
740
Augustine, Epist. 162.
741
Instit., bk 4, ch. 7.
742
Loc. Cit.
743
Centur. 5, ch. 9.
744
Sess. 20.
745
De Historia Concilii VI Carthaginensis.
746
Bk 10, ch. 6.

747
These names are all a Latin play on words. “Nocentium” means guilty, in place of Innocentium. Boniface means a good deed or someone who does good, thus “Malefacium”, evil-doer; Celestine, which means heavenly, thus: “Infernalem” means from hell, or hellish. As for Leo, what Bellarmine’s remark is meant to show is that Illyricus lacked the sophistication to turn Leo’s name on its head, so roaring lion is a direct quote from St. Peter’s Epistle which means the devil. -Translator’s note.
748
Augustine, epistle 157; Optatus bk 1 ad Bonifacium; Prosper *Contra Collatorem*.
749
De Consideratione, bk 3.
750
To clarify Bellarmine’s argument, he is speaking strictly on law, and in regard to canons dealing with law, Nicaea (which was an Ecumenical Council) and Sardica (which was not) are indeed, on equal footing. -Translator’s note.
751
Contra Cresconium, bk 3, ch. 34.
752
Sozomen, *Hist.*., bk 3, ch. 10 & 11.
753
Ruffinus, *Hist.*, bk 10, ch. 6.
754
We know this canon was among those of Nicaea, from the epistle of Constantine that is contained in Eusebius, *de Vita Constantini*, bk 3; Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, 69; Athanasius, *epistola de Synodis Armini et Seleuci*.
755
Epistle 82.
756
Epistle 110.
757
Optatus *contra Parmenianum*, bk 2.
758
Hist., bk 1, ch. 8.

759
Epistle 89.
760
Epistle 157.
761
Epistle 261.
762
Leo, Epistle 87.
763
De persecutione Wandalica, bk 2.
764
Paul the Deacon, *Rerum Romanarum*, bk 17.
765
Bk 1, epist. 72, & 75; bk 7, epist. 32.
766
As he is quoted by John de Turrecremata, *Sum de Eccl.*, book IV part 2, ch. 37, he also refutes the same error in book II, ch. 93.
767
Lib. De Prim.
768
Nicholas also mentions this decree in the aforementioned epistle.
769
Ruffinus, *Hist.*, bk 10, ch. 2.
770
Can. Si Papa, dist. 40.
771
De Sacramentis, part 2.
772
Which is 11 among the Epistles of Augustine.
773
For more on this matter, see Francisco Turrianum in *De Sexta Synodo;* and Melchior Cano, *De Loci Theologicis*, bk 5, last Chapter, in the answer to the sixth argument.
774
Haeres. 19, Catharorum.
775

Council in Trullo, Canon 48.

776

Jerome, *Epistola ad Lucinium Boeticum*; Augustine, *Epistle 86 ad Casulanum*.

777

Dist. 16.

778

Bede, *de Sex Aetatibus*, in Justiniano juniore; Paul the Deacon, *de gestis Longobardorum*, bk 6, ch. 4; Otho the Frisian, bk 5, ch. 13; Ado of Vienne, Marianus Scotus, and Rheginus in his Chronicle, where he speaks on Justianian the younger.

779

Instit., bk 4, ch. 7, §19 - 21.

780

Ibid, ch. 11, § 12.

781

Bk 3, epist. 61.

782

Bk 4, epist. 31.

783

Ibid, epist. 34.

784

John the Deacon, *Vita D. Gregorii*, bk 4, ch. 58.

785

John XIX.

786

Romans XIII:1.

787

Epistle 42 ad Henricum, Episcopum Senonensem.

788

Matth. XVII.

789

Acts XXV.

790

Summae de Ecclesia, bk 2, ch. 96.

791

Romans XIII; Titus III; and 1 Peter II.

792

Romans XIII.

793

Epistl. Ad Conradum imperatorem, 183.

794

Contra Pelagianos, bk 1, et *in epistola ad Dardanum de terra promissionis*; Augustine *in Librum Numeri*, quest. 33, bk 19; *Contra*

795

Philo of Alexandria, *de Victimis*; Theodoret, *Quaest. 1 in Leviticum*; & Procopius in ch. 4 of Levitius.

796

3 Kings [1 Kings], II.

797

Dialogorum, bk 4, ch. 30.

798

Otho of Frisia, Historia, bk 6, ch. 23.

799

Hist., bk 6, ch. 32.

800

Chronicum Cassinensis, bk 2, ch. 80.

801

Gratian, *Can. Si quis*, quest. 7.

802

Tractatus de auctoritate Papae et Concilii, ch. 27.

803

Loc cit, bk 2, ch. 106.

804

As is clear in Sexto, *de Renunciatione*, ch. 1.

805

Even in Bellarmine's time this was hotly debated by canonists and theologians, (c.f. Suarez *de Summo Pontifice*, Distinction X, no 6), felt it was not necessary for anyone to receive a papal resignation. The 1917 Canon law made it clear that it was not necessary for anyone to consent to the Pope's resignation in order for him to resign, and the 1983 Code follows it in this regard. -Translator's note.

806
Hierarchiae Ecclesiasticae, bk 4, ch. 8.
807
Loc. Cit., bk 4, part 2, ch. 20.
808
Serm. 2, *de Consecratione Pontificis*.
809
Tract. De auctoritate Papae et Concilii, ch. 20, & 21.
810
Titus III.
811
Loc. Cit., ch. 26.
812
Cyprian, bk 4, epist. 2.; Athanasius, *Contra Arianos*, serm. 2; Augustine, *de gratia Christi* ch. 20; Jerome *Contra Luciferianos*, and many ohters.
813
III, q. 8, a. 3.
814
Bk 1, epist. 6.
815
Bk 2, epist. 1.
816
Contra Parmenianum.
817
Ambrose, *de poenitentia*, bk 1, ch. 2; Augustine, *Enchrid.*, ch. 65; Jerome, *Contra Luciferianos*.
818
II IIae, q. 39, art. 3.
819
Bk 4, epist. 2.
820
De Scripturis et dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis, bk 4, ch. 2, part 2, sent. 2.
821
Ibid., sent. 7.
822
De Locis Theologiis, bk 4, ch. 2.

823
Athenaeum bk VIII. The Greek means literally: “Hail! beloved Father.”
824
Odyss. Bk VI.
825
Satyra VI.
826
Breviarium, ch. 22.
827
Quoted by Theodoret, bk 5, ch. 10.
828
Dialogorum, bk. 1, ch. 4. St. Anselm also uses it in his preface to *de Incarnatione Verbi* to Pope Urban, and St. Bernard uses it in all his epistles to the Roman Pontiffs.
829
De Vocatione Gentium, bk 2, ch. 6.
830
Instit., bk 4, ch. 7, § 3.
831
Council of Carthage III, can. 26.
832
De Consideratione, bk 2.
833
Quoted by Sextus, *Titulo de Electione*, ch. *Ubi Periculum*.
834
Instit., bk 4, ch. 7, § 21.
835
Bk 4, ch. 28, *ad Joannis Episopum Constantinopolitanum.*
836
Bk 2, epist. 42. He also has the same explanation on the fourth penitential psalm.
837
Epistle 81.
838
Quoted by Sextus, *de Electione*, in the Chapter “Ubi Periculum”.
839

Epistle 237.

840

Tertullian, *de Praescript.*; Augustine, Epistle 162, as well as in other places.

841

Augustine, Epistle 106.

842

Epist. 90 & 92. Similar examples of this occur everywhere.

843

Augustine, Epist. 162.

844

Luther, *de Potestate Papae*.

845

Dialogorum, bk 1, ch. 4.

846

Cent. 6, ch. 7, colum. 439.

847

Instit. bk 4, ch. 7, § 4.

848

Gregory, bk 4, epistle 32.

849

De historia Concilii VI Carthaginensis.

850

De potestate Papae.

851

Dist. 99, canon Prima Sedis.

852

Bk 4, epist. 36 ad Eulogium.

853

Ibid, epist. 69.

854

Ibid, ep. 32.

855

Sixtus I, epist. 2; Victor I, epist. 1, Pontianus, epistle 2, Stephen I, epistle 1, St. Leo I, epistle 54, 62, 65.

856

Cristotokoj, literally “Christ bearer,” or “mother of Christ,” as opposed to Qeotokoj, God-bearer or “mother of God.” -Translator’s note.

857

Vita S. Gregorii, bk 2, ch. 1.